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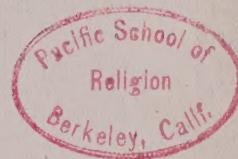


THE COMPOSITION
OF JUDGES II 11 TO I KINGS II 46

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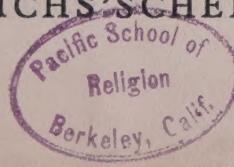
HAROLD M. WIENER M.A., L.L.B.
OF LINCOLN'S INN / BARRISTER-AT-LAW

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N. B. In this work I and II Samuel are frequently cited simply as I and II, the word Samuel being omitted.

§ 1. Introductory.

In the Hebrew Bible the division of the Former Prophets is constituted by the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings. Together they carry the history from the death of Moses to the Babylonian exile. They are therefore of the first importance to the historian, and an examination of their composition and value is indispensable as a preliminary to his work: but on undertaking an enquiry of this kind I found that the material is of such diverse nature as to make it undesirable to group investigations of the conquest narratives or the history of the monarchies of Solomon and the divided kingdoms with those portions of the record which form the subject of this monograph. The reasons for this only appear after its problems have been studied, and accordingly they will be set out at a later stage (§ 11). The first task must be to discover the character of our section of the literature from the evidence it offers.

The material of the Former Prophets falls naturally into divisions which do not quite coincide with the biblical books. Jgs. i 1—ii 10 contains narratives of the conquest and settlement and really belongs with the book of Joshua. An editor of Judges makes his last appearance as late as I Sam. xii, so that for some purposes I i—xii must rank with that book. A brilliant historical source that furnishes most of the material of the history of Saul and David terminates in I K. ii, giving another cross-division; and the rest of Kings divides into other sections. Thus side by side with the order in books we have the following arrangement which, however, is itself not free from overlapping¹:

I Josh. i 1—Jgs. ii 10 The Conquest and Settlement.

II Jgs. ii 11—I Sam. xii The Judges.

III	I Sam. xiii—I K. ii	Saul and David.
IV	I K. iii—xi	Solomon.
V	I K. xii—II K. xvii	The Divided Monarchy
VI	II K. xviii—end	The History of Judah.

The present study is concerned only with the second and third of these divisions.

At the very outset it is apparent that they cannot be read as a continuous unitary production of a single pen. There are discrepancies which make it impossible to find a single, consistent, historical account of the period they cover¹.

And that forces us to frame some hypothesis of composition which shall explain the facts of the books and enable us to distinguish between the various conflicting elements and separate that which is historical from its opposite. Such work is necessarily very subjective, and it would be absurd to suppose that any high degree of certainty can be attained. The observations made on the subject by Dean Milman many years ago are as apt today as when they were penned. "But Ewald seems to have attempted (he has no doubt of his own success) an utter impossibility. That the Hebrew records, especially the Books of Moses, may have been compiled from various documents, and it may be at an uncertain time, all this is assuredly a legitimate subject of inquiry. There may be some certain discernible marks and signs of difference in age and authorship. But that any critical microscope, in the nineteenth century, can be so exquisite

1) Thus in I Sam. iii 20 Samuel is known from Dan to Beersheba, but in ix he is an obscure village seer. He sees Saul no more according to I xv 35, but the latter prophesies before him in xix 24. The accounts of Saul's selection are inconsistent, as are also the narratives of David's introduction to him. Similarly we hear different voices expressing opposite opinions. Thus in some passages the institution of the monarchy is a sin against God: in others its lack was a woeful defect which was responsible for every man's doing what he pleased.

1) The second division, e. g., contains some material that belongs with the settlement.

and so powerful as to dissect the whole with perfect nicety, to decompose it, and assign each separate paragraph to its special origin in three, or four or five or more, independent documents, each of which has contributed its part, this seems to me a task which no mastery of the Hebrew language, with all its kindred tongues, no discernment, however fine and discriminating, can achieve. In this view (to raise but one objection), the ultimate compiler must have laid his hand very lightly on the original documents, which still, it seems, throughout point unerringly to their age and author; he must have been singularly wanting in skill and in care in stringing together his loose materials. He must have built up his scattered fragments with extraordinary indifference or extraordinary negligence . . . if a critic of our days can (as a scientific architect assigns part of a mediaeval cathedral to one or another century, to one or another builder) resolve these most ancient records into their primeval elements, and that with a certitude which permits no doubt. I must confess that I read Ewald ever with increasing wonder at his unparalleled ingenuity, his surpassing learning, but usually with decreasing conviction¹. It is in that spirit that I embark on the task. I have endeavoured to trace "discernible marks and signs of difference in age and authorship", but where I can see nothing of the kind, I think it better to confess ignorance than to advance precarious guesses. Sometimes it is evident that there is something wrong, but no greater probability attaches to one conjecture than to another. In such cases the investigator's correct course is to say so. And in many instances where some reasons can be adduced, the evidence is so flimsy and susceptible of so many interpretations that very little reliance can be placed on any view.

There are, however, other cases in which substantial grounds can be adduced for holding particular conceptions of the origin of our difficulties, and these stand on a different footing. Results of considerable value for our whole knowledge of Hebrew antiquity may then be obtained, provided that a sense of limitation is always preserved and no claim is made in excess of what the facts warrant. Moreover, prolonged study leads to a view which seems to account satisfactorily for the principal difficulties and to harmonise

with other phenomena, such as the relation of Chronicles to the earlier historical books and the character of Hebrew mentality. It is with these aspects of the subject that the present work is concerned.

An important formal trace of compilation which meets us in many of the O. T. narratives gives useful help in the work of disentangling the early material. It may be called the practice of resumptive repetition. Where an editor desired to incorporate something, he frequently inserted it, and then resumed the original narrative, repeating the last phrase before the break with more or less accuracy. Much was presented in this way, that in our time would be placed in footnotes. Sometimes, however, the adoption of this method is equivalent to saying, "According to another source the course of events was as follows". A few illustrations will make this clear.

In Ex. vi 10—12 Moses complains that he is of uncircumcised lips and that Pharaoh will not hear him. The narrative is then interrupted to give information as to his identity, and in 28—30 it is resumed with a quotation of the earlier phrases.

In Nu. xxi 25 we are told that Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorite, in Heshbon and all its suburbs. Then a commentator's note is inserted embodying a fragment of song, and in 31 the narrative is resumed by repeating the phrase "And Israel dwelt in the cities (so Sam. LXX: M. T. "land") of the Amorite".

In Jgs. ix 16 Jotham begins his speech with the words "Now therefore if ye have dealt truly and uprightly, in that ye have made Abimelech king, and if ye have dealt well with Jerubbaal and his house, and have done unto him according to the deserving of his hands". Then follow two verses of inserted matter, and in 19 the speech is resumed with the words "if ye then have dealt truly and uprightly with Jerubbaal and his house this day".

We find another insertion after 2 K. xvii 33f. The original narrative is resumed after it in 41.

Sometimes the matter incorporated appears to come from a different source. The death and burial of Samuel are narrated in I xxv 1a where they stand in no relation to what follows, and in xxviii 3a, where they form the introduction to the story of Saul and the witch of Endor. Two views are possible. Either these events were recounted in two documents, and the editor, having

1) H. H. Milman *The History of the Jews* 1883, I xxiii f. The sentences quoted are from the preface, which unfortunately bears no date.

reached this point in one, proceeded to insert matter from the second till he came to its notice of these events; or else he inserted an extract from the second and marked his return to the first by repeating the last statement he had taken from it. In view of the many parallels and the lack of connection between this and its context in the second document, the latter view would seem to be correct.

Many instances of the practice will come under notice hereafter¹. It is particularly common in the books of Samuel.

There are certain matters of political and religious interest which appear to have coloured the views held in various ages of the history covered by the books of Samuel. The first problem we find treated is the question of the transfer of the priesthood from the house of Eli to that of Zadok, but it is speedily dwarfed by the second: was the institution of the monarchy right or wrong? Was it in accordance with the will of God or an act of rebellion against Him? And almost before we have finished the consideration of that, we find ourselves confronted with another matter which evidently caused poignant heart-searchings.

How came it that God first brought about the elevation of Saul to the throne, and then permitted him to end in complete failure and rejected him and his line in favour of another family? This is turn involved a further sheaf of questionings. If Saul was appointed by God, why did He not choose the right man and support him? Was it not possible after all that he and his line had a better title than the Davidic kings? Or alternatively that the title of the latter was no more indefeasible than their predecessor's? Might it not be superseded by that of other houses? The course of history had given the question political actuality. And at a time after the Messianic hope had arisen, the matter would assume fresh importance. The connection of the only optimistic view of the national future with the family of David made it all-important to justify the monarchy as divinely ordained, and to vindicate the superior and unquestionable legitimacy of the Judean royal line. The effects of these considerations are most prominent in Samuel, but there are traces that some of them influenced the minds of men who contributed to the formation of our book of Judges.

Here then we have enough interesting

problems. A satisfying treatment of our books must take them into account, and they will not be overlooked in what follows. They are mentioned here simply that they may be in the reader's mind, and in order that he may be alert to detect any signs of their effect when the earlier stages of the argument have on other grounds suggested a differentiation between the work of various hands.

In view of the recent publication of Rothstein and Hänel (*Kommentar zum Ersten Buch der Chronik*, 1927) a few words should be added as to the theory that the Chronicler had before him the sources of the books of Samuel. That hypothesis has generally been rejected and with good reason. The passages that are now adduced to prove it fail to do so. They only show that the Chronicler used a text of Samuel which was in some respects better than our present Hebrew.

Thus in II v 6ff. it is quite impossible to hold that we have an accurate transcript of the original author's words, for the passage is unintelligible. When we read that David said "Every one who strikes the Jebusite" followed by a lacuna (ver. 8), we cannot suppose that this represents the deliberate intention of any responsible author or editor, but only the result of accidental damage to the text. Now I Ch. xi 6 fills the lacuna. The two texts compare as follows:

יבוסי	בראשונה	יהיה	לראש	ולשך	Ch.
יבוסי					Sam.
ויעל	בראשונה	יואב	בנצוריה		Ch.
X					
בצנור				וינע	Sam.

There can be no doubt that words have fallen out in Samuel and that the Chronicler had before him a better text. How far he reproduces it faithfully is a question, as always with this writer. It is unlikely, if he is approximately right, that the *כל* at the beginning of the clause is original; and it is impossible to feel certain whether *בן* *בצנור* or *צורייה* is right. In view of the state of the text of Samuel, the probability is perhaps slightly on the side of Chronicles.

Similarly, when we find I Ch. xi 41b—47 continuing the list of II Sam. xxiii 8—39 without a break, the natural inference is that our Hebrew Samuel is descended from a copy in which this passage had been accidentally lost, while the Chronicler had before him a MS of Samuel that was here intact. No good reason can be suggested for the deliberate omission of the latter portion of the list in Samuel. The fact that Uriah the Hittite is the last name in Samuel does nothing

1) See Index II s. v. Repetition, Resumptive.

to explain the fact, as Rothstein (p. 241) seems to have thought.

It is unnecessary to review all the passages cited, for there is not a single one that really proves the contention.

§ 2. Preliminary Identification of N, the Main Source, in Judges ix to I Kings ii.

No better starting-point for an enquiry into the sources of Samuel can be found than II ix—xx with their continuation in I Kings i—ii. "In virtue of their perfect style and their life-like portraiture, the amount of picturesque detail and the often dramatic intensity of the action, these twelve chapters constitute the finest specimen of continuous prose narrative in the O. T. The writer's interest is centred throughout in the person of David and in the members of his family and court With the same impartiality are recorded David's loyalty to the memory of his dearest friend (ix), his own great sin and the sins of his family, which brought scandal on his court and sorrows on his old age The freshness and vividness of the narrative and the abundance of minute personal detail compel us to see in the author one who either himself played a part in the events he so graphically records, or has derived his information at first hand, from those whose names are for ever enshrined in his pages"¹.

The Chronicler appears to refer to the work of this writer twice by the title "history of (דָבְרֵי) Nathan the prophet" (I Ch. xxix 29, II Ch. ix 29). It is the fact that Nathan is prominent in them, and the standpoint adopted is highly sympathetic to his personality and ideas. The symbol N[athan] will therefore be adopted to denote their source. The passages in these chapters that are regarded as foreign matter are comparatively short. They may be left for consideration later when we have acquired more definite notions as to the scope of the extant portions of N². Was this, as some hold, merely a court history of David's reign, or a more extensive work?

R. Kittel thinks that perhaps their author later continued his own work backwards but is not convinced of the unity of authorship. He notes a difference of tone between the relatively critical view of David's conduct taken in these chapters and the more enthusiastic

admiration apparent in the narratives of the earlier portions of his career. Further he remarks that the proud joy shown first in Saul's rise and then in David's greatly outweighs the ethical considerations¹.

The question of unity of authorship will occupy us immediately, but the characteristics which arouse Kittel's doubts may be explained more easily from the nature of the case. N apparently terminates only with David's death. It must therefore rest on information which came through a younger contemporary of the king's. He would necessarily view the period covered by his own experiences differently from the past, for in it he had been an eye-witness of David's faults and was dealing with the span of time covered by the activities of Nathan, the most unsparing critic of the king's morals. If N is the work of the prophet or of anybody who derived his information through him, the difference is inevitable: but even if that is not the case, it bears the clearest marks of the influence of his ministry. Nathan's principal acts were the rebuking of David's sin, the preferring of his son to the father as the Temple builder, and the support of Solomon's candidature for the throne. Thus any historian who was influenced by his work could not fail to adopt a line that was critical of David and of those members of his family who might at any time have seemed to have a better claim to the throne than Solomon's. And he would be confirmed in this attitude by the fact that the throne was actually occupied by the magnificent monarch at the time he wrote.

On the other hand any patriotic Israelite would necessarily feel enthusiastic about the events which had raised his people from a state of impotent and ignominious vassalage to independence and imperial power. If we contrast the position at the time of Saul's elevation with that at the hour of David's demise we shall have no difficulty in understanding the author's tone (cf. II vii 10).

The artificial notion of his continuing his work backwards is refuted by the references we are about to consider. How suppose, e. g., that he wrote a passage like I K. ii 32 presupposing full knowledge of the death of Abner, and then at a later date reflected that there was no account of it in existence and composed our present narrative of the event in terms exactly fitting his own earlier reference?

1) A. R. S. Kennedy Samuel (Century Bible) 20f.
2) See § 6.

1) GVI II³ 292, 5 238.

N cannot have begun with the abrupt opening in II ix 1, and if we turn to iv 4 we find a fragment which belongs to this chapter.

"Now Jonathan, Saul's son, had a son that was lame of his feet. He was five years old when the tidings came of Saul and Jonathan out of Jezreel, and his nurse took him up and fled: and it came to pass, as she made haste to flee, that he fell, and became lame. And his name was Meribaal." That has nothing whatever to do with its present context, but it is assumed in ix 3b, where the name is not given, though the reader's familiarity with it is taken for granted in 6. Obviously the verse originally stood immediately before ix 1. Its present position can only be due to accident, which has played a part here as in other early O. T. books. No compiler would have inserted it in iv intentionally. Its restoration to its proper position improves both chapters. But even this cannot have been the beginning of the document.

If we read iv 4, ix from this point of view, we shall find that it requires as its antecedent a tale of the relations of David and Jonathan (ix 1). It appears also to assume a story of the tidings of Saul and Jonathan out of Jezreel (iv 4). David is king of all Israel able to dispose of all Saul's lands, and he reigns in Jerusalem. This, then, raises a presumption that N went back at least as far as the rise of David and dealt with the intervening history, for it can hardly have narrated the friendship with Jonathan and then have passed straight on to iv 4 without any intervening material. That disposes of the idea that it was merely a court history of David's reign.

With which of our accounts of the friendship between David and Jonathan does this narrative show affinity? The "kindness" and "kindness of God" of ix 1, 3, 7, point back to I xx 14, 15.

Further important help is to be derived from I K. ii 5, 31—3. The references to Joab's treatment of Abner and Amasa are on the same footing. Now the facts as to Amasa are narrated in N (II xx 8ff.). It follows that the death of Abner will also have been told in this document. When we turn to our present account (II iii 23—39) we cannot doubt the intimate relationship of both passages. In both David knew not (I K. ii 32, II iii 26): in both there is emphasis on the Lord's requiting the blood on the head of Joab and his seed, and on the innocence of

David and the royal house. It is clear that this account belongs to N.

But II iii 23—39 in its turn does not stand alone. The reference in iii 27 shows that the story of Asahel in ii belongs to the same document. Moreover iii 23—39 is merely part of a longer narrative which covers most of the chapter and is continued in iv and v 1—3.

This indicates that N told how David became king in Hebron. Later in the same document (ix ff.) we find him in Jerusalem, and xv 24ff. shows that the Ark was also there. N must therefore have brought both the king and the Ark to the new capital, since the Hebron narrative cannot have been followed by ix ff. without some explanation of how they got there. Accounts of both events are contained in the intervening chapters, and the prominence of N in II leads us to suspect that it enters into their composition. This consideration is reinforced by a very much stronger argument. In vii 10, 12—16 we read as follows: —

"10 And I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in their own place, and be moved no more; neither shall the children of wickedness afflict (1 Ch. xvii 9 swallow) them any more, as at the first.

"12 When thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom, 13 He shall build an house for My name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. 14 I will be his father, and he shall be My son: if he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men (this clause is wanting in 1 Ch. xvii 13); 15 And I will not take (reading אָסֵר) My mercy from him as I took it from Saul whom I put away before thee (1 Ch. xvii 13 from him who was before thee) 16 And his (LXX) house and his (LXX) kingdom shall be made sure for ever before Me (so LXX: 1 Ch. xvii 14 And I will settle him in Mine house and in My kingdom for ever), and his (LXX Ch.) throne shall be established for ever."

It is obvious that this passage could never have been written after the effects of Solomon's policy had become manifest in the reign of Rehoboam¹. The schism and

1) J. Wellhausen. Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der Historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments 1889, 257 regards ver 13 as an addition. A perusal of the passage will show the impossibility of this

Shishak's invasion lie outside its author's vision. Opinions may differ as to the latter part of ver 14. It may be an editorial insertion striving to bring the prophecy into some sort of harmony with the later facts. If it is intended to refer to the great disruption in the next reign and the Egyptian war, it is ludicrously inadequate. More probably it looks to the opposition that Solomon actually experienced (I K. xi 23ff.). But the bulk of what has been quoted cannot have been composed after the reign of the king it glorifies. It anticipates a future that was only too soon to be belied by the facts. Thus we must either assign this to N or assume the existence of a second source dating from the reign of Solomon, equally in sympathy with Nathan and his ideals and covering ground over which N must have travelled. The choice cannot be doubtful, and we are abundantly justified in attributing the passage to N. It carries with it the preceding chapter (vi) with its narrative of the bringing up of the Ark; and in the account of Michal's not unjustified criticism of the king we may recognise one of our author's salient characteristics. After all, a prophetic writer who held by Ex. xx 26 could not fail to disapprove of David's antics¹.

The introduction to vii is to be found in v 10—12 and accordingly these verses also come from N.

The narrative of the capture of Jerusalem (v 6—9) contains matter which is indispensable to this source and may well have been derived from it. The deep-seated corruption which is apparent recalls I xiii 19—22, which, as we shall find, also comes from N.

H. P. Smith speaking of v 6—16 says "The section is an apparent unit"; and of vi 1—23 "There seems no reason to question that the story belongs to the main narrative of the life of David" (p. 291), but in another place in discussing the two sources in which he believes, he writes "vi (? H. M. W.) represents matter belonging to both. At least, it is impossible to suppose either to have lacked an account of the capture of Jerusalem such as is here (? v 6—9 H. M. W.) given" (p. xxvi). This is an instance of a theory's blinding its author to the facts.

view, for the omission of this verse would convert it into a total prohibition to build a temple at all. This is opposed by the whole course of history and of Hebrew thought.

1) On the other hand vii 1b which is omitted by I Ch. xvii may be a gloss.

2) International Critical Commentary Samuel, 1899, p. 287.

Both narratives are plainly unitary, and nothing but the exigencies of the analysis have led Smith to suppose that there is a fusion of sources.

Some of the references to I seem to assign xxv 1b—xxviii 2 to N. Thus II iii 13—15 attaches to I xxv 44 and II ii 2 to I xxv 43 and the preceding narrative, xxvii 3 (and also xxx 5). In these chapters xxv 1b—xxviii 2 are a continuous section, inserted apparently in another history at a point where Samuel's death is narrated (xxv 1a). This notice is resumed at the end of the insertion in xxviii 3a, in accordance with the compiler's practice in other instances. We are therefore justified in assigning this long passage to N, and recognising that what immediately precedes and follows belongs to another source, which, as will appear hereafter (§ 3), may conveniently be designated by the symbol G.

Within N, however, xxvii 5—7 appears to be a misplaced passage which should follow xxvii 12, for (i) in 8—12 Gath is David's headquarters, not Ziklag; (ii) ver 7 would fitly conclude the narrative of this period of David's career; and (iii) it would form an admirable introduction to xxviii 1.

It is generally admitted that xxix—xxx form the direct continuation of xxviii 2¹. They are therefore derived from N. This is confirmed by the references. As we have seen, II ii 2 makes it probable that I xxx 5 comes from this source. The reference to Abiathar in I K. ii 26 suggests that in N he bore the ephod before David, and strengthens the view that xxx 7 as also xxii 20, xxiii 6ff like all the references to him in II are derived from this source.

This brings us to the attribution of I xxxi and II i. In II ii 4—7 we have a direct reference to I xxxi 11—13. The whole of the chapter appears, however, to be a unity, and there seems no reason for dissecting it. This, then, also belongs to N.

In II i the facts are different. The beginning of the chapter continues I xxx and comes from N. But in that document II iv 9ff. refers to a messenger who, unlike the Amalekite here, clearly did not claim to have killed Saul, and represents David as slaying

1) On the other hand a geographical consideration reinforces the view that xxviii 3—25 comes from a different source. In xxix 1 the Philistines concentrate at Aphek. While its precise location is unknown, it is clear from iv 1 that it is nowhere near the plain of Esdraelon. In xxviii 4, however, they are already at Shunem, north of Jezreel.

the messenger himself (in contrast to i 15). Hence it is apparent that the work of two hands is combined here. In that case verses 6—10 and 13—16 fall under suspicion and may be regarded as being derived from some other writer, the remainder of the narrative coming from N¹.

We found that I xxv 1a is the end of an extract from another source (G). It immediately follows a chapter (xxiv) which contains an obvious doublet of xxvi 5ff. (N). Each is preceded by a narrative in which the Ziphites come to Saul at Gibeath (xxiii 19, xxvi 1) with tidings of David's hiding in the hill of Hachilah, and there are other resemblances which make it clear that the two accounts tell of one set of transactions. Hence G extends backwards as far as xxiii 19.

We have already seen reason to believe that the story of Abiathar comes from N. This gives that document xxii 6—xxiii 13², a conclusion which is confirmed by the number six hundred in xxiii 13 as in xxv 13, xxvii 2 xxx 9f. (N) in contrast to the four hundred of xxii 2.

Between xxiii 13 (N) and 19 (G) there is a narrative of Jonathan's coming to David

1) In II i 18 the words "behold, it is written in the book of Jashar" seem to be a gloss by somebody who knew that the poem occurred in that book as well as here. This appears from their impossible position and utter superfluity. They thus afford no ground for suggesting either that N was compiled after that book, or that the poem is a later addition.

2) The opening phrase of this passage is often misunderstood. The sense requires "And Saul heard for David was known etc.", not "that David was discovered".

The notice of David's companions in this verse and the subsequent history in N require an account of his sojourn in the cave of Adullam: but it is impossible to be sure that xxii 1f. comes from this document. There is a small discrepancy, as shown above, between the number (four hundred) of xxii 2 and the four hundred + two hundred of the other passages. The sojourn in Adullam is known to II xxiii 13f. which does not belong to N. Thus it formed part of the general tradition as to David. The duplicate account of his stay in Philistia (xxi 11 [10] ff.) is evidently inconsistent with N's narrative of his relations with Achish. Further clues are provided by xxii 3—5. If David goes from the hold to Moab, thence to the forest of Hereth, and then to Keilah etc., as in N, it is not clear how after the Moab visit his parents could be said to dwell with the king of Moab 'all the while that David was in the hold': but G, unlike N, brings David back to the hold in xxiv 23. It presumably put him there when according to N he was at Ziklag, for its account of the Achish visit in xxii 11 (10) ff. excludes the possibility of such a narrative. Lastly Gad appears in xxv 5 as in II xxiv 11ff. where he is David's seer, but never in N where Nathan is prominent. Thus xxi 11 (10) ff. differs in several particulars from N and fits in with G to which it appears to belong.

at Horesh, as in the last-named verse. The statement of Saul's pursuit in 14 and the definite location of David in the next verse stand in contrast to the preceding narrative of N and agree with what follows so closely that the passage is seen to belong to G. This is confirmed by Jonathan's language in 17 the gist of which is the same as that of xxiv 21. We shall see hereafter that the exclusive legitimacy of the Davidic dynasty is one of G's principal interests.

The narrative of xxi 2—10 (1—9) is the necessary antecedent of the other Abiathar passages and must come from the same history.

In II iii 14 we found evidence that the story of the winning of Michal belonged to N. This gives us xviii 20—29 less the passages which are missing in the pre-Hexaplar LXX. If this was continued by a story of Jonathan's mediation, of which only fragments are preserved in xix 1—7 and then by 9—17, we can see that it formed part of a continuous and brilliant narrative quite worthy of the author of N. It may have been immediately preceded by xviii 6—16 less certain clauses which are wanting in the pre-Hexaplar Greek. And this in turn is a sequel after some account of the Goliath episode (on which see below § 5) of xvi 14—23, for some such narrative is presupposed by xviii 13 and xix 9f.

Two other matters claim consideration in this place. II vi 2 narrates the bringing up of the ark from Baale (better Baalat) Judah. That presupposes an account of how it got there, and this cannot be identified with I vii 1f. since there the place is called Kiriath Jearim, and no explanation of the difference of name is given in our chapter.

It is antecedently probable that N began before the bringing up of the Ark or the history of Samuel, for neither of these forms a natural starting point for a historical work. Now in II xi 21 there is an incidental allusion to the story of Abimelech, son of Jerubbaal, which presupposes that the reader is intimately acquainted with it. In all its other references we have found N self-contained, and this at once raises the suspicion that an account of the event may have been included in it. This is confirmed by the references in II vii 7, 10f. which gain in force if N covered the period of the Judges. When we turn to Judges ix all doubts are at an end. The brilliancy of the narrative, its vivid personal touches, its picturesque and dramatic detail, the style of its moral reflections

alike betray the identity of the author. The Gaal episode (26—41) can only be from his pen, and the account of Abimelech's death (50—55), which is the part of the story to which Joab refers, breathes the same atmosphere as other passages of N (cf. e. g. I xxxi: compare too Jgs. ix 24, 56f with II xvii 14)¹. There cannot have been two such historians both possessing the same strongly marked individuality, both characterised by outstanding ability of exactly the same cast, both dealing with the same period in a fashion which would be adopted by no other O. T. writer.

Our preliminary result, then, is that in the reign of Solomon Nathan or somebody in sympathy with him wrote a history which extended from the period of the Judges to the death of David. We already know that substantially the following material belongs to it²:

Jgs. ix.

I xvi 14—23, xviii 6—16, 20—29, xix 9—17, xxi 2—10, xxii 6—xxiii 13, xxv 1b—xxviii 2, xxix—xxx.

II i 1—5, 11, 12, 17—v 3, 6—12, vi, vii, ix—xx.

I Kings i, ii.

§ 3. Preliminary Identification of G. the second continuous source, in I Samuel xvii—II Samuel xxiv.

Between II xx and I Kings i there stands an appendix to the books of Samuel which has had a complicated literary history. Its kernel consists of II xxi 1—14, xxiv, which seem to be marked as continuous by the opening words of xxiv 1. Klostermann suggested that xxi should stand before II ix, but that is impossible, for in 7 Meribaal is well known to the king, who, however, had never heard of him in ix 1—4. The incident here recorded is therefore either later in date than ix, or else it comes from another document which may have put it earlier or (more probably) later. There is no room for the episode anywhere in N after ix, and we are therefore driven to the hypothesis that the second view is correct.

In I Ch. xxix 29 the concluding chapters of Samuel appear to be cited as the history of Gad the seer. We may therefore conveniently refer to this source by the symbol G

1) Joab's allusion, too, calls Abimelech's father Jerubbaal (corrupted in the Hebrew to Jerubbesheth), not Gideon, and this corresponds with Jgs ix.

2) See, however, § 6.

[ad]. There can, however, be no question of regarding him as the author. He does not seem to have outlived David, but rather to have been his older contemporary. We find him active in the days of the outlawry; indeed, he appears to have been Nathan's predecessor. At any rate we hear nothing of him in the later years of the reign, and he is not mentioned in the narrative of Solomon's accession. Nathan, on the other hand, takes a leading part in the concluding portions of the king's career, but does not figure at all in his early years. Now, the very first words of xxi 1 look back on the days of David as past. It must therefore be understood that by the symbol G is meant a work in which the prophet Gad is mentioned as a historical character like Saul or David and that it suggests no view as to its authorship.

Within II xxi 1—14 2a β —3ax is an insertion, so marked by the resumption of the end of the original matter in the words "and David said to the Gibeonites"¹. When it is removed, we find that the passage contains several indications of having formed part of a longer narrative. It presupposes an earlier account of Saul's dealings with the Gibeonites².

The compiler did not think this worth incorporating in his work, his interest lying apparently more in the fortunes of the house of Saul than in the history of the people. But to make this story clear he had to add this note which is evidently based on the omitted narrative.

In xxi 7 we have a reference to an oath of the Lord between David and Jonathan. The nearest parallel appears to be in I xx 42 with (probably) 17. Here we have the expression 'swear' clearly used, while in I xviii 3, xx 8, xxiii 18 we read of a covenant. This is by no means decisive, for every covenant comprised an oath as one of its elements, but it suggests that G may have provided some of the constituents of I xx.

The references in II xxi 8 are suggestive of an earlier account of the family of Saul

1) Caspari retains the clause but makes other changes. He does not appear to explain how he gets „und verhandelte mit ihnen“ out of **וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־הָמִם**. If 2b were anything but a gloss it should stand immediately after 1. It is quite out of place in its present position except as an explanation of the compiler.

2) The passage appears to have come from a document which referred to the Gibeonites as Amorites, for the most natural supposition is that the editor, to whom 2b appears to be due, follows the language of some earlier portion of the document which he is summarising. This differentiates it from Josh ix 3—26 where the Gibeonites are called Hivites.

which told of his wives, concubines and children. This has not been preserved.

The allusion in the same verse to Merab¹ and Adriel recalls I xviii 19, which again did not belong to N, and in the light of this may be assigned to G.

The other references to past history in 12 and 14 would be less convincing evidence of earlier narratives if they stood by themselves, but in view of the earlier verses they should probably be treated as indications that G covered the whole life of Saul².

Similarly xxiv 2 "to Joab and to the captains of the host that were with him" (so read with *bgoc_e*, Jacob of Edessa and I Ch. xxi 2, cp. ver. 4 of this chapter) presupposes an earlier mention of Joab in the same document³ whether it has been preserved to us or not.

At this point attention must be directed to a feature of G which helps us in understanding its origin and also in identifying its remains. The story of xxi 1—14 leaves on the reader's mind an impression that is unfavourable to Saul and his house. Rizpah's devotion is indeed recognised as admirable: but Saul and his family are under blood guilt which involves misfortune for Israel and a miserable ending for many of his descendants. David, on the other hand, shows up in a favourable light. This impression is enhanced by xxiv, which originally

followed this narrative without a break. There too a ruler sins, but he recognises his fault and his tenderness for his people leads to the prayer "I have transgressed, but these sheep what have they done? Let thy hand be on me and my father's house" (ver. 17).

A similar tendency appears in I xviii 19, which, as we saw, belongs to G. We find Saul accused of a breach of faith which can hardly have been calculated to raise him in the reader's estimation. In the narrative of N there is scarcely room for such an incident.

Now the passage in which this verse occurs (I xviii 17—19) presupposes a story of the rise of David in which the king's daughter is promised to the hero who should slay Goliath. This is found in xvii 12—31 (see 25), which is quite inconsistent with I xvi 18ff. (N), and consequently seems to belong to G¹.

Thus side by side with N runs G which is characterised by hostility to Saul. This fact will become clearer as we proceed. It stands in obvious relation to some of the problems to which attention was drawn in § 1.

G may well have been a history composed partly for the purpose of explaining why the first king of all Israel and his house were rejected in favour of another dynasty and of showing that the princes of the line of David were alone entitled to the loyalty of their people.

We must next turn to some of the longer sections of the narrative that are interwoven with N.

We have seen that I xxiii 19—xxiv is an alternative narrative to I xxvi (N). "There are remarkable resemblances between the two accounts; and though there are also differences of detail, these are hardly greater than might have grown up in a story current among the people for some time before it was committed to writing. If the occasion in ch. xxvi is a different one from that in ch. xxiv, it is singular that it contains no allusion, on either David's part or Saul's, to David's having spared Saul's life, under similar circumstances, before".

1) See further § 5.

2) S. R. Driver *Literature of the O.T.* 1913, 181. He instances the following: "As regards the resemblances between the two accounts compare xxvi 1 and xxiii 19; xxvi 2 and xxiv 2; xxvi 8 and xxiv 4, 18b; xxvi 9b, 11a and xxiv 6, 10b; xxvi 17 and xxiv 18 (Is this thy voice, my son David?"); xxvi 18 and xxiv 9, 11; xxvi 19a and xxiv 9 (Saul adjured not to listen to men who may have calumniated David); xxvi 20* and xxiv 14; xxvi 21 and xxiv 17; xxvi 23 and xxiv 12, 15; xxvi 25a and xxiv 19f.; xxvi 25b and xxiv 22."

*) Where, however, my life should probably be read with LXX for a flea.

A comparison of the two narratives brings to light outstanding differences. N contains one sentence which must have greatly shocked all those who in later times idealised David and his house as the champions of the true religion, the anointed of the Lord; the founders and supporters of the Temple, the best hope of national and religious union and fidelity, the source of the Messianic idea. That is in the famous verse xxvi 19 "If it be the Lord that hath stirred thee up against me, let Him accept an offering: but if it be the children of men, cursed be they before the Lord; for they have driven me out this day that I should not cleave unto the inheritance of the Lord, saying, Go, serve other gods". The feelings this must have aroused may be partially realised if we put by its side such a passage as Hos. iii 5 "Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king". "The Lord their God and David their king!" Could it be that that very David who founded the royal house, loyalty to which is here synonymous, or nearly so, with loyalty to God, could have contemplated the worship of other gods when in Philistia, and later in the same narrative actually have served there for a prolonged period in such conditions? The question is obvious and inevitable. The answer was to write an alternative narrative which, it was hoped, would replace N. And so G gives us practically the same story, largely in phrases borrowed from N's account, but with slight modifications, and presents an account of David's life which completely excludes the possibility of worship in Philistia. The hero is allowed to go to the court of Achish but made to conduct himself in such a way that he could not possibly have sacrificed there (I xxi 14) and promptly sent back to his own land. And to keep him out of the way of any further possibility of wrong-doing he is detained at Adullam for the whole of the period during which Ziklag was his headquarters according to the earlier work. Similarly he is hurried out of Moab with its opportunities for sacrifice to a strange god (I xxii 5).

Comparison of the two narratives reveals another remarkable feature. In I xxiv 21f. (G) Saul is made to acknowledge that David will be king. He thus attests the legitimacy of his successor and the rightfulness of the change of dynasty. This fits in admirably with what we have already seen of G's tendencies and motives.

Those were probably the principal considerations that actuated the writer in this part

of his story: but we must hope that they were not the only traits that gave offence in later times. N's account of his treachery to his generous Philistine patron and his false and fulsome cringing to the enemy of his people may have stirred feelings of disgust in circles in which honour and good faith may have appeared to be called for in human transactions, and not least of all in the treatment of one whom the East regards with as much reverence as a host.

Be that as it may, we are evidently on the track of another of the motives that influenced the author of G — the whitewashing of David, — and we understand why it is that so large a part of II (including all the scandals of his private life and family), is derived from N. G will have been silent on all this.

Another aspect of the matter is important for our enquiry. The character of N's statements supports the view of its historical value and early date. The remark as to the worship of other gods, the picture it gives of David's violations of the most elementary duties of a vassal and a guest, his abject cringing to the Philistine king, and the reason why Ziklag was Jewish territory (I xxvii 6), all ring too true for doubt. The historian cannot hesitate as to which of the two documents he should believe.

At the same time G's effort to correct and supersede N's history explains the closeness of the resemblances between the two documents alike in those portions of the narrative that may have been common to both and in certain phraseological matters.

In the light of all this we have no difficulty in provisionally identifying most of the following as belonging to G; I xvii 12—31, xviii 17—19, xxi 11—xxii 5, xxiii 14—xxiv, xxviii 3—25, II viii. Closer examination hereafter (§ 5) will, however, show that some verses of I xxviii 3—25 do not come from this source.

With regard to II viii some other points call for notice. There is a striking resemblance to the summary of Saul's military achievements etc. in I xiv 47—51, which will hereafter be found on other grounds to belong to G. (§ 4). This parallelism extends particularly to the view taken of the general military success given to both kings by the divine aid (cp. II viii 6 and 14¹ with I xiv 47). Both paragraphs seem to have been intended to occupy similar places in the respective histories of Saul and

1) Of these two verses 6 seems to have been glossed from 14. The phrase as to David's general success is appropriate only at the end of the section, not in the middle.

David. Again II viii 16—18 and xx 23—26 are parallel lists of officials, so that the former may well be G's equivalent of N's in xx. It would then be easy to understand that viii was composed to replace N's history in the hope of cutting out all the private scandals and the Ammonite war which was so closely connected with the tale of David's sin. An entirely different motive is given to the conflict with Hadadezer (3, contrast x 6ff.) and the war with Ammon is merely mentioned incidentally (viii 12). We note that here too G copies the phraseology of N beginning his chapter with *וְהִיא אַחֲרֵי כֵן* “and it came to pass thereafter” which introduces N's account of military events in x 1.

Another remarkable feature is furnished by the interest displayed in the accumulation of booty and its sanctification (7—12). It seems to foreshadow an account of its utilisation in the furnishing of Solomon's Temple. The story of the acquisition of Araunah's threshing-floor (II xxiv) is in line with it. The interest of both N and G in the Jerusalem Temple forbids the assumption that either author worked in the interest of Northern Israel.

§ 4. The Analysis of I Samuel vii 3—xiv 52.

We have now made the acquaintance of two sources, one (N) written in the spirit of Nathan the prophet, the other (G) displaying hostility to the house of Saul. Unfortunately the problems of Samuel are too complicated to be solved by the supposition that only two hands have contributed to the narrative, and to trace these two documents further we must endeavour to analyse I vii 3—xv.

In this section there are questions of interpretation and reading which must exert a powerful influence on our judgement of the analysis. Two of these must be considered before we attempt any separation of sources,—the meaning of I x 7f. and the text of I xi.

We have two different views of the foreign danger which was immediately responsible for the monarchy. According to I vii 13f. Samuel had put an end to the Philistine peril for his lifetime, and xii 12 attributes the demand for a king to the menace of Nahash. On the other hand I ix 16 expressly says that Saul is to be anointed as ruler “and shall save My people from the hand of the Philistines, for I have seen the suffering of My people, for their cry has reached Me”; and accordingly we find a Philistine prefect in the heart

of Israelite territory (x 5). This leads to the questions that arise on x 7f. “Do what thy hand shall find for God is with thee. 8 Then go down before me to Gilgal, and behold I will come down unto thee to offer burnt offerings and to sacrifice peace offerings: seven days shalt thou wait till I come unto thee, then I will tell thee what to do.” The subtlety of the Hebrew phrase in 7 has eluded the apprehension of the commentators. It means “seize thine opportunity” (cf. Jgs. x 33) and is a euphemism for “smite the prefect and start the revolt”. Saul is then to go to Gilgal and collect forces for the inevitable battle which cannot occur till at least seven days later since the Philistines will have to mobilise their forces and send them to the scene of the rebellion. In contrast to xi, xii this narrative is wholly occupied with the Philistine menace as the *causa causans* of the Hebrew monarchy. The first step in any rising would be directed against the prefect who represented the authority of the oppressing power, and this would necessarily be followed by the mobilisation and dispatch of forces to quell the insurrection. Every Israelite understood this perfectly, and to him the language used and its meaning would have been quite clear. The choice of time and means was left to Saul; once he had struck the first blow the next steps were too clearly marked out by the circumstances to admit of doubt. The only possible question was as to the rallying-point, and for that Gilgal was selected. What would follow was to be decided there after the details of the Philistine moves were known.

Once this is grasped it becomes clear that x 8 is an integral part of the narrative. If this account once told how Saul chose his opportunity and then smote the prefect, it may have contained very little that is wanting in our books of Samuel between x 16 and the point where it now resumes.

The continuation of this narrative in xiii will occupy our attention later. We must now turn to the text of I xi¹.

According to the M. T. the position of Saul is inconsistent with his having been made king designate, and the story of 1—11 does not fit its framework. But in the Greek it is otherwise.

In 4 M. T. has the strange phrase Gibeah of Saul, which it repeats in xv 34. In neither passage is it supported by the LXX, which

1) In x 27b for *וְיִהִי כָּמַחְרִישׁ* we should read *וְיִהִי כָּאַחֲרֵי חֶדֶשׁ* (cp. LXX Vulg.) and attach the phrase to xi 1. “And it came to pass about a month later that Nahash etc.” (see Jl. Pal. Or. Soc. viii 1928, 125).

reads Gibeah only in the latter verse and 'to Gibeah to Saul' in xi 4. It would be thoroughly unnatural that the place should be called after Saul before his reign had begun¹, so that for that reason alone the Hebrew is suspicious. The Greek reading is moreover preferable on other grounds. The text it yields is in harmony with its surroundings. If Saul had been appointed king he would be the first and natural person for the men of Jabbesh Gilead to approach, and the relevance of the narrative to its context becomes clear.

In 5 the pre-Hexaplar LXX pointed differently. Instead of Saul's coming after the oxen (**הַבָּקָר**) he comes after the morning (**הַבָּקָר**)², i. e. at or after noon. That the king designate should be ploughing is most improbable. That he should be out at the time of the arrival of the messengers and should come in for his midday meal is perfectly natural. It is to be noted that in 7 he does not take 'the pair of oxen' but 'a pair'. Had he really been ploughing he would presumably have taken the team which he had been using³. Thus the text of 7 discredits the Massoretic pointing of 5, and indicates that the Greek rendering is correct.

With this the mention of Samuel in 7, which has been supposed to proceed from an editor, is seen to be part of the original text. The new king, whose position is still quite insecure, wisely associates the name of the old and trusted prophet with his own in the first attempt to exercise authority over the people⁴. Its success gives him prestige and silences the opposition. As a result he is taken to Gilgal and solemnly anointed there by Samuel for the first time in this document (15 LXX text).

When the commentators proceed to connect xi 1—11 with ix 1—x 16 they are clearly in error. That passage finds its sequel in xiii 4—15. It is concerned purely with the Philistine danger, while xi deals with Nahash and

1) The name is of course unexceptionable at a later period. Its use in Is x 29 after Saul had passed into history is on a different footing.

2) The note in Kittel's B. H. is inaccurate.

3) Wellhausen *Prolegomena*, 1905, 247 actually writes „er zerstückt seine Rinder“. Similarly Kittel GVI⁵, 1922, 102 „Saul hinter den Rindern her vom Felde heimkehrend, hört, was geschehen... Auf der Stelle ergreift er ein Paar seiner Rinder“. Sellin, *Geschichte des Israelitisch-Jüdischen Volkes*, 1924, 145 „er zerstückt die Ochsen, mit denen er soeben gepflügt“. The Hebrew does not bear these statements out.

4) According to M. T. the numbers in 8 are 300,000 from Israel and 30,000 from Judah. The LXX has 600,000 and 70,000 respectively. No reliance can be placed on the transmission of these numbers.

the Ammonites. In ix 1—x 16 there is to be a descent to Gilgal and a wait for seven days which is explicable only on the view that the Philistines would have to mobilise their forces and advance to the scene of action while the Hebrews on their side would have to collect an army: but this cannot be brought into relation with the Nahash episode. Again, x 8 contemplates instructions to be given to Saul as to his next step: xi, on the other hand, tells of an exploit that is carried to completion, and there is no occasion for further instructions or a seven days' wait. Nor can the story of xi 1—11 be brought into relation with ix 1—x 16 at some other point of time. Theoretically the episode might have preceded the idea of making Saul king: but it cannot have stood before ix 1 in the same narrative, for the whole tenour of ix 1—x 16 forbids the assumption that Saul was already a victorious general well known to all Israel. We are thus compelled to assume that the Nahash narrative presents an entirely different conception of Saul's position from that which appears in ix 1—x 16.

An examination of x 26b, 27 and xi 12f. shows that these paragraphs require the intervention of some incident that gave Saul prestige. He has been made king in depressing circumstances. Samuel has read a homily on the rebelliousness of the people in demanding a human king at all. Saul himself in a fit of shyness has concealed himself and been brought out from among the baggage. There is a discontented party that sneers at the idea of his being of any use to the people. Subsequently events have belied the pessimism of the grumblers, and the kingdom is renewed¹ amidst great rejoicing. That framework demands that some great victory should be set in it, and we find this narrated in xi 1—11.

1) There seems no reason for regarding the word **נָחָרְשׁ** in xi 14 as due to a redactor. The circumstances were such as to warrant the idea that a fresh celebration of Saul's elevation to the royal dignity would be eminently in place. He had not yet been anointed according to this account. He had by his success become the victorious head of a united nation. It was eminently appropriate that his reign, which had been inaugurated at Mizpah, should now be formally renewed by the ceremony of inunction conducted in a spirit of rejoicing, confidence and unanimity.

In 15 the LXX found **וַיִּמְלֹכוּ שָׁמָּוֹאֵל שָׁמָּוֹאֵל** (so the pre-Hexaplar text: many authorities have been accommodated to our Hebrew) **וַיִּזְבְּחַ** and later **שָׁמָּוֹאֵל** for **שָׁאֹל**. The Massoretic readings appear to be due to attempts to bring the passage into harmony with the narratives of x 1 and xiii which are derived from a different source. Hence Samuel could not anoint Saul or sacrifice in Gilgal.

In the Greek text the whole story fits together perfectly and forms a unity¹.

It is now possible to consider the main feature of the section, the combination of the work of at least three different hands which we must seek to disentangle.

I. In portions of viii and xii (cf. x 18f.) the whole institution of monarchy is condemned root and branch. In harmony with this we are told in vii 13f. that Samuel had completely rescued Israel from the Philistines, a view which is contradicted by the whole history of Saul.

II. In ix 1—x 16 we find a secret anointing of Saul by Samuel, a seer of local reputation². This narrative is favourable to the institution of the monarchy, but its continuation in xiii 8—14 tells a tale of a rift between the king and the seer and is hostile in tone to Saul. In this account the new institution is solely due to the Philistine danger (ix 15f.), which according to I was nonexistent, and there is no Ammonite success to Saul's credit.

The idyllic character of the narrative³ and its lack of agreement with the facts narrated in what we shall find to be our most trustworthy source strongly recall xvii 12—31, which presumably had a similar origin.

III. In x 17—xi 15 Saul first becomes king designate at Mizpah, then defeats the Ammonites and lastly is anointed at Gilgal. Samuel is not a local seer, but the recognised leader of the people. The story knows nothing of any secret anointing, the action to be taken by Saul or the appointment in Gilgal. When

1) The objections to the Hebrew consonantal text may be resumed as follows: (i) x 27, xi 12ff. are left hanging though they have obviously been written round a tale of Saul's success which is needed to make them intelligible.

(ii) It becomes necessary to cut out the phrase "and after Samuel" in x 7 without any ancient authority.

(iii) It is impossible to understand how Saul could have been made king at Gilgal in xi 15, for this had already been done at Mizpah in the same source. But he had not been anointed there.

(iv) The phrase "let us renew" (xi 14) is difficult to understand in the Hebrew but perfectly easy in the Greek account.

It will be seen that the Septuagintal text is not open to any of these objections. By its adoption we obtain a consistent, logical and thoroughly credible narrative.

2) ix 9 is a gloss.

3) As Kittel well says: „Königtümer werden in so idyllischen Formen nicht vergeben. Und anderseits: wer ein Königtum zu vergeben hat, ist von selbst nicht ein Mann, der nur im engsten Kreise bekannt ist und von dem man außerhalb seines eigenen Gaues kaum etwas weiß“ GVI⁵ 1922, 99. Moreover, as the same writer points out (*ibid.*), in xiii Saul has a grown up son, which does not quite agree with this narrative.

the little that may be held to belong to I is stripped off, we have a narrative that is wholly favourable to the monarchy and sympathetic to Saul's achievement.

The first of these hands never reappears after xii. We have here an editor who compiled a history of Judges in a spirit of opposition to the monarchy, and in so doing made his own alterations in an older history. His earlier work is to be sought in Judges (see § 9). In our section he appears to have operated only on III, and not on II. Thus we must begin by considering I and III in vii 3—xii.

We are struck at once by the position of xii. The proper place for Samuel to discuss his stewardship of his office would be after the selection of the king in x, the exact point for a speech of this kind being after 25a. The reference to Nahash in xii 12 would be suitable if the Ammonite danger were threatening and had been the cause of the demand for a king: but its tone is quite inappropriate after the new monarch had saved Jabesh by his brilliant victory. And the same remark applies to the latter part of the chapter which is quite out of harmony with the state of affairs at the end of xi. There the military success had led to an inauguration of the monarchy amid general rejoicing. It would be entirely inept at such a time to represent the new constitution as a dubious experiment of a sinful nature. Instead of regarding the demand for a king as wicked (xii 19), the people must have held that God had approved it by saving them through the instrumentality of His newly chosen. Lastly, if the chapter finds a most unsuitable introduction in xi, it has no ending at all. The scene is not concluded: the people are not dismissed, and xiii 2 joins on far too abruptly to be the true sequel.

All these difficulties are removed if we recognise that the correct position of xii is between x 25a and 25b. Immediately after the appointment of a king and when the Ammonite danger has not yet been met, the chapter would be in place, and it is aptly rounded off by the dismissal of the people in x 25b.

Looking at this division as a whole we find traits which carry conviction. The offering at Mizpah (vii 6 and 9f.) and the altar at Ramah (17)¹ are quite in accordance with early practice. The general attitude of Samuel in vii is psychologically so true that we cannot doubt that it rests on strictly historical inform-

1) It is impossible to make an altar narrative of this kind postexilic. The later period was dominated by the claims of Jerusalem.

ation. His dislike of the new proposal and subsequent acquiescence in it have points of contact with Nathan's acceptance of the scheme for a temple and later reversal of his position in II vii. Similarly it is scarcely possible to doubt that in that age recourse would have been had to the sacred lot in such a matter as the first selection of a king. The instances of its employment are too numerous. The story of Saul's hiding is plausible and probable, and hardly likely to have been invented.

Thus its view of the history was somewhat as follows. From the time of the defeat of Eli's sons Israel had groaned under the Philistine tyranny. Quite probably Samuel may have won some small success at Ebenezer which may have formed the basis for the editorial effort which gave the narrative of vii its present form; but on the whole the Israelites were a vassal people. Samuel enjoyed a position of considerable prestige and influence in a section of the country, but was old and quite incapable of bringing deliverance. His sons had been given positions at Beersheba and had only shown their worthlessness. The representatives of the people felt that the only hope for the future lay in a change of both system and personnel. They accordingly approached Samuel. The old prophet found the change a bitter pill to swallow. It involved his own supersession, the rejection of his sons, and a complete alteration of the system of which he had always formed part. Yet he bowed reluctantly to the logic of necessity. How Saul was first introduced into the narrative we do not know, for our present account (ix 1—x 16) is from II. An assembly is held and the sacred lot is invoked. Then come his appointment, the Ammon episode, and the renewal of the kingdom. This narrative is (subject to the removal of the editorial matter) apparently old, self-consistent and thoroughly credible.

We know two sources N and G which were acquainted with the special relationship in which Jabesh stood to Saul. The sequel to ix 1—x 16 is hostile to Saul and must be assigned to G¹. N covered this period, and we need have no hesitation in attributing to it the original form of this narrative. The position of the prophet Samuel, it may be noted, is here very different from that of the village seer of ix 1—x 16. G is not favourable to the Ephraimite Samuel. It remains to ask what

portion of this section came from the anti-monarchical editor. It is of course impossible to effect a clean division, and we can only answer, large parts of vii 3—17, viii 7—22, x 17—19 and xii.

We pass to xiii. It is generally recognised that xiii 1 is no part of the early text. Dhorme has seen that xiii 2 does not belong to the narrative that treats Gilgal as Saul's base. In support of his view attention should be drawn to the following phenomena. This verse makes the numbers $2000 + 1000 = 3000$ men while in xiii 15, xiv 2 we find 600. It puts the forces "in Michmash in¹ the mountain country of Bethel" and in Gibeah of Benjamin, in the former of which it stations Saul, but according to 4, 7ff. he was still in Gilgal, which he does not leave till 15. Moreover the Philistines come to Michmash(5)². It assumes that Saul had an assembly of the people from which he chose three thousand men, and that he dismissed the rest: yet in 4 the people gather round him at Gilgal. These discrepancies are clearly due to the combination of two narratives. In the first there has been an assembly of the people as in xi (N). Saul chooses 3000 men, whom he posts appropriately, and dismisses the rest. Thereupon Jonathan smites the prefect of the Philistines in 3a α , which appears to attach to this narrative. The following words, as restored, run thus: "And the Philistines heard saying, The Hebrews have revolted". This may belong to either source. In the second account Saul has smitten the prefect himself (ver. 4) and blows the trumpet (3b α), and the people then rally to him in Gilgal. He is here the efficient author of the revolt, in contrast to 3a, where his son is more prominent. This is the act which his hand was to find (x 7), and, when this verse and the following narrative are read consecutively, the whole presents itself as the plain, smooth sequel of x 1—16. There is now no occasion to cut out xiii 7ff. Only one question arises. In the restored text of xiii 15 we read of the people following Saul to meet the warriors. Presumably there was some earlier reference to this advanced guard which has been cut out in view of 2f.

We must now study the various strands of the chapter for analytical purposes. Perhaps the first

1) So b, apparently rightly: M. T. "and in Mount Bethel".

2) It is possible to effect an artificial harmonisation by making Saul leave Michmash for Gilgal and holding that the Israelites retreated on the approach of the Philistines; but if a narrator had meant that, it was open to him to say so, and the language of 4, 7ff. is really fatal to the hypothesis.

1) Other minor clues in the connected narrative point in the same direction e. g. Ichabod (see § 7).

feature to attract attention is the oscillation between Gibeah and Geba. In the M. T. of

xiii 2 1000 men are lying with Jonathan in Gibeah of Benjamin.

3 The prefect is smitten in Geba.

15 Saul and the people join the fighting men at Gibeah of Benjamin.

16 Saul, Jonathan and the army are in Geba of Benjamin.

xiv 2 Saul is at the edge of the Gibeah (hill).

5 One hill is opposite Geba.

16 The look-out is in Gibeah of Benjamin.

The Vulgate and Targum have Gibeah throughout, as also the LXX (with variations of reading and spelling that are immaterial for our present purpose). To these passages must be added x 5, where M. T. and LXX (except f nb s w "house") have "hill (Gibeah) of God".

Either the Hebrew is frequently wrong, or else the translators did not distinguish between the two words.

Now in two cases the Massoretic reading is unquestionably right. The pass of Michmash lies between Michmash and Geba. Geographically Geba is the only possible reading in xiv 5.

Again, it is incredible that the Philistine prefect was stationed at Saul's home. Whatever may be meant by the "hill of God" in x 5 (G), the context forbids the assumption that it was Gibeah of Benjamin. It is true that xiii 3 comes from a different source (N), which may not have placed the prefect in the same spot as G; but nothing can be clearer than that it did not think of him as being in Saul's home town. Presumably, too, the meaning of xiii 2f. is not that Jonathan was camping at the place where the prefect was and killed him there, but that he was at Gibeah of Benjamin (where the prefect cannot have been) and advanced to Geba where he smote him.

Thus the versions offer no guidance as to the true text in this matter.

Accordingly, the alternation of names supplies a clue to the analysis. In one source (N), Saul is at Michmash, and his son at Gibeah. The latter advances to Geba and smites the perfect. When the Philistines arrive at Michmash, Saul falls back on their flank, concentrating the Hebrew forces at Geba. In the other (G), Saul is at Gilgal and the fighting men at Gibeah, where he joins them (xiii 15). Subsequently he (xiv 2) and the look out are found there (xiv 16). The only question is whether we should read Geba, or Geba of Benjamin, or Gibeah of Benjamin, in xiii 16, and as this seems to be a point at which there was a transition from G in 15 to N, it is not impossible that the phrase Geba of Benjamin is due to a conflation of sources.

Another geographical matter requires notice. In xiii 5 M. T. describes Michmash as **קדמת בית און** east of Bethaven: LXX however has ἐξ ἐναντίας Βαθωρών κατὰ νότου (εἰ νότου) "opposite (or east of) Bethhoron backwards (or southwards). And in xiv 23, a Latin copy, a Sahidic MS, boc² a², Jacob of Edessa (margin) again have Bethhoron for Bethaven. Michmash is almost exactly due east of Bethhoron. Whichever reading is right, the description is not by the author of the reference to Michmash in xiii 2 since he would not have waited till this point to explain the situation of the place he mentioned earlier. A presumption however arises that xiv 23 is being prepared by xiii 5 and belongs to the same source.

The next strand is that which relates to the flight of the people, xiii 6, 7a, xiv 11b and 22 clearly belonging to one source. The first of these passages joins well with its context: the last is responsible for the rise in the numbers with Saul to about 10000 men in 23f. (restored text)¹. This therefore connects with the unusual and outspoken censure of the king which in the restored text introduces the episode of Jonathan and the honey. It is very uncommon for an O. T. historian to say in his own person of a military act that 'Saul made a great mistake, etc.'. The hostility of this passage to the monarch contrasts strongly with the implied praise of 34f., and stands in sharp antithesis to N's method. This strand therefore may be assigned to G.

Other features support our conclusion. In xiv 21 there is merely a rising of slaves² in the camp and the battle ends (23a). But in 23b and the kindred passages the fighting is on a more grandiose scale, which agrees with the armament assigned to the Philistines in xiii 6 in defiance of the fact that the country is most unsuitable to chariots. The more sober account is the more likely to accord with the facts and belong to our early source.

If xiv 11b belongs to G the narrative it interrupts will come from N. According to this Jonathan (whose way of speaking of the Philistine position shows that he was in Geba) proposes to cross the pass (xiv 1). This is continued in 4f., but when the two hills have been labelled, no further use is made of their names in our combined text. Jonathan again proposes to his armourbearer to make the expedition. This second proposal will belong to G, to which 6f. must therefore be assigned. As 11b interrupts the suggestion that the attitude of the Philistines should determine whether they should advance, 8—11a, 12, 13, 14b (restored text)³ will go to N. This squares with the fact that xiii 19—22 occurs in a passage of N (xiii 16—xiv 1) which is preceded and followed by extracts from G (xiii 3b—15, xiv 2f.). The first of these is shown to be G by the following marks: its continuing ix 1—x 16, Saul's slaying the prefect himself, his presence in Gilgal, the rally of the people to him, the strength of the Philistines, the definition of the position of Michmash, the details as to the people's flight, the rebuke to Saul, and the number 600. The latter passage is marked as part of G by the location in Gibeah, the number 600 and the connection with the Ichabod narrative (see § 7).

The priest of xiv 3 is consulted in 18f., which thus belongs to the same source, and apparently in 36ff., which has already been assigned to G on other grounds. The resemblance between 37b and I xxvii 6 (G) in the refusal of an answer also deserves notice.

The destroyer of xiii 17f. (N) reappears in xiv 15a. On the other hand, Gibeah shows that 16 belongs to G.

While it is impossible to be certain as to all the details, the following is a tentative analysis:—

N xiii 2, 3a, 16—xiv 1, 4f., 8—11a, 12f., 14b, 15a⁴, 17, 20f., 23a, 32—35.

1) See Kittel B. H. ad loc.

2) Restoring **העברים** with the LXX for M. T. **העברים**. See Nieuwe Theol. Stud., 1926, 35 6.

3) **בחצים ובבנוי קלע ובצורי השדה**. See Jl. Pal. Or. Soc. vii, 1927, 142. This should clearly follow 13, not 14a.

4) The words **וימנו להלחם** should be restored after **הנה** with the pre-Hexaplar LXX.

G xiii 3b—15, xiv 2f., 6f., 11b, 14a, 15b, 16, 18f., 22, 23b—31, 36—46.

In xiii 13b 14a there are phraseological affinities with II vii 8, 12f., and xiii 14b וַיַּצְחַק לְצֹהַת אֲתִי נָגִיד לְעַמּוּד אֲלֵיכֶם. As in other passages, G has modelled his work on N.

As Saul is said to have 'taken the kingdom' in xiv 47, it is likely that this passage belongs to G. The phrase is more appropriate to the procedure in this document than to the public and official ceremonies of N. The account of Saul's victories which follows seems to be from the same source, for it is foreshadowed in the earlier narrative of x 1 in the text preserved by the LXX and Vulgate. "Ecce unxit te Dominus super hereditatem suam in principem, et liberabis populum suum de manibus inimicorum ejus, qui in circuitu ejus sunt. Et hoc tibi signum quia unxit te etc."

There is a contrast between the boast of Saul's successes in every quarter (47) and the less exuberant statement of 52 that there was grievous war with the Philistines all his days. The last named verse is however apparently the introduction to the entry of David in xvi 17—23, which has already been assigned to N on other grounds. The difference of tone between its view and that of the preceding paragraph (47—51) confirms the assignment of these passages to N and G respectively.

§ 5. The Analysis of I Samuel xv 1 — II i 27.

In approaching this section it will be helpful in the first instance to consider the actual facts of David's elevation to the throne. He becomes king of Judah through the action of the men of Judah who anoint him (II ii 4). There is no priestly or prophetic intervention of any kind, nor any reference to any previous inunction by Samuel. His ability and prestige, his power as the head of the only organised Hebrew fighting force left west of the Jordan, and the obvious necessities of the case made his choice inevitable; but there is no hint whatever of any divine interposition either at this time or previously.

Abner makes Ishbaal king without any religious authority (II ii 9).

Later, when David becomes king of Israel, a covenant is made between him and the representatives of the people (II v 3 cp. xvi 18). Here (v 2) and in I xxv 30 cp. II iii 18 (all N) we find mention of a previous divine promise¹,

but nothing that in any way resembles an actual anointing by divine command. In xxiv 4 (G) reference is made to a divine promise¹ to David which is not to be found in our books of Samuel. That David had early been recognised as a probable future king is likely enough. Jonathan's attitude in xx 13b ff. (N) — to say nothing of G's representations in xxiii 17 and xxiv 20, which may be unhistorical, — and Saul's in xx 31 (N) and other passages clearly attest it, but the subsequent narrative is incompatible with an anointing by Samuel. In David's eyes Saul was the anointed of the Lord xxvi 11 (N), xxiv 6 (G), not he himself. The statement that he perceived that the Lord had established him king over Israel and exalted his kingdom for his people's sake (II v 12) suggests rather that he drew an inference from the accomplished facts than that he had any belief in an earlier anointing by divine command. Even II vii contains no hint of anything of the sort.

Similarly in the case of Solomon's accession N is quite clear that it was due to a promise made by David (1 K. i 13, 17, and especially 24ff., 29ff., 35 etc.).

Thus according to the unimpeachable testimony of our oldest witness David's elevation was not due to Samuel, and the anointing of a king was primarily a political act.

The narrative of I Sam. xvi 1—13 appears to stand in a special relation to the account of Saul's choice. The founder of the rival dynasty is given the legitimation of a secret inunction by the seer of Ramah in the name of God. True the word 'seer' does not occur in M. T.; but in the LXX the last clause of 4 runs *הַשְׁלָמָם בַּוֹאֵךְ הַרְאָה* "Is thy coming peace, O seer?" That M. T. has suffered is apparent from the other variants in this verse, and the concluding word supplied by the Greek is required to round off the phrase satisfactorily.

This word 'seer' is an obvious reference back to ix, and it is impossible to dissociate xvi 7 from x 23b. There we read of Saul "And when he stood among the people he was higher than any of the people from his shoulders and upward. And Samuel said to all the people, See ye him whom the Lord hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the people?" Here this argument is met with the crushing retort: "And the Lord said unto Samuel, Look not to his appearance and to the height of his stature, for I have rejected him. For God looketh not, as man looketh, to the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh to the heart". It is incredible that this is anything but a reply to the utter-

1) It may be that the narratives of this have been deleted as incompatible with the claim that Samuel had actually anointed David.

ance in favour of Saul contained in x 24. It is intended to invalidate that argument and to show that the view that Saul's stature indicated divine choice is baseless. And subsequently the spirit of the Lord rushes on David (xvi 13) as it had rushed on Saul in x 10.

We have seen above that N knows nothing of this narrative. In other ways, too, it conflicts with some of the other passages relating to David. In xvi 13 he is anointed in the presence of his brothers, but in xvii 28f. his eldest brother treats him in a way that is quite inconsistent with any knowledge of his title to the kingdom.

It is natural to suppose that the spirit of the Lord would lead him to take some action of importance, but the paragraphs that immediately follow do not bear out this expectation. After the two inconsistent accounts of David's introduction to Saul we meet, however, with some sentences which may perhaps once have connected with a story in which David slays Goliath under the influence of the spirit. In xvii 55 ff. the king is apparently totally unacquainted with the young warrior immediately after his encounter with the giant. He asks Abner who he is, only to find that his general knows as little of the lad as he does himself. That will not fit in with xvi 21, where he is the king's armourbearer, or xvii 31, where information of David's talk is given to Saul and the youth is apparently brought before him: but it would go very well with an account of the spirit's rushing upon him and leading him to fight the Philistine without any previous communication with his monarch. Such a narrative would form a counterpiece to Saul's exploit at the time of the Ammonite danger when the spirit of God rushed on him (xi 6).

Thus xvi 1—13 is an unhistorical story written in the interests of the Davidic dynasty as a reply to both our present accounts of Saul's rise to power. It carries with it xv, of which it forms the sequel. This chapter can be shown on other grounds to be quite unhistorical and to contradict both N and G. Amalek was not annihilated by Saul, for it is prominent in the subsequent history (I xxx (N) II viii 12 (G)). Samuel's attitude is unintelligible and indefensible. A king must necessarily have more independence and discretion than this tale would allow him; and according to our notions the prophet's domineering arrogance, inhumanity and seditious attitude are the really serious offences, not the small matters charged against his sovereign. That Saul fought against Amalek is true (xiv 48): possibly this campaign may have been the cause

of some disagreement between him and Samuel, but this chapter cannot be regarded as sufficient evidence of that or of any other matter of fact.

The whole section xv i—xvi 13 appears to stand in relation to certain editorial additions to the sources. In I xxviii 17f. there is a passage which connects with xv, and in II i the verses which make Saul fall by the hand of an Amalekite (6—10, 13—16) recall it. In view of the hatred of Amalek this ending is designed to poison Saul's memory.

How bitterly hostile the section is to Saul appears from its unworthy portrayal of his character. The same is true of the original text of I xv 29a where the schism is actually laid to his account¹.

In xvii—xviii the pre-Hexaplar LXX presented a much shorter text. Its principal omissions were as follows: — xvii 12—31; 37 the words “**וַיֹּאמֶר** ד” “And David said”; 38b; 41; 42 the words “**וַיִּבְטַח** הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי” “and when the Philistine looked about”; 48a “And it came to pass when”, “and drew nigh” (reading simply “and the Philistine rose and went to meet David”); 48b; 50; 51 the words “**וַיִּשְׁלַח** מִתְעִירָה” “And drew it out of the sheath thereof”; 55—xviii 5; xviii 6 down to “the Philistine” (inserting “to meet David” before “out of all the cities of Israel” and omitting the words “**לִקְרָאת** שָׁׁוֹל הַמֶּלֶךְ” “to meet king Saul”); 8b²; 10f; 12b; 13 the word “Saul”; 17—19; 21b reading just before “and the hand of the Philistines was against Saul”; 26b; 27 “**וַיִּמְלָא** אֹם” “and they give them in full tale”; 29b, 30. In 28b it had “and all Israel loved him”.

If we adopt this text, we have (subject to certain minor points especially in the narrative of Goliath³) a brilliant, consistent and

1) The LXX has καὶ διαρεθήσεται (σχισθήσεται boz (mg) c₂ e₂ Lat.) Ἰερανὴ εἰς δόν for גַּם נִצְחָה יְשָׁׁבֵת. The last phrase is wanting in the Hebrew, but נִצְחָה is obviously a corruption of נִצְחָה or some other part of the niphil of נִצְחָה (cf. Ezek xxxvii 22). In view of the awkwardness of the change of subject the whole clause may be due to a glossator.

2) In 8a it has a rather shorter text, but the differences do not touch our present enquiry.

3) The concluding words of xvii 42 may be editorial (cf. xvi 12a) and similar remarks may be made of other passages, but in most cases the grounds for suspicion are purely subjective and we can only say that we do not know. In 54, however, there is clearly something wrong. David cannot have taken the head of the Philistine to Jerusalem, and we know from xxi 10 that the sword of Goliath was not in his tent. Probably בְּאַהֲלָיו is an old misreading of בְּאַהֲלֵךְ “in the tent of the Lord”, and Jerusalem is also corrupt.

In xvii 39 BA, Armenian, Sahidic, Ethiopic, Latin

continuous story, which is incomparably superior to our present Hebrew, and attaches naturally to xvi and xix at its two ends.

A crucial question is raised by the story of David and Goliath. In I xvii with its various sequels David's encounter with the Philistine giant laid the foundations of the whole of his subsequent career. Whatever the number of sources that may have been combined in this chapter, all tell of this episode, and it is further supported by several references in the subsequent history. In xix 5 Jonathan speaks of the exploit, and it forms part of the background of the assistance rendered to David by Ahimelech (xxi 10 N) and the subsequent massacre of the priests of Nob (xxii 10, 13 N). Thus it is an unquestionable part of the narrative of our oldest and best source.

The whole story has however been rejected in reliance on a single corrupt verse from a younger source which appears in varying forms in II xxi 19 and I Ch. xx 5. According to the form preserved in the earlier passage Elhanan slew Goliath. It is argued that it is more probable that the exploit of a more obscure personage like Elhanan was transferred to David, than that the converse process took place. The circumstance that the Chronicler presents a different text is interpreted as showing that he altered Samuel, and no account is taken of the facts that the state of preservation of the books of Samuel is often desperate and that independent reasons exist for questioning the tradition in this particular verse. Here are the two texts:

Sam. וַיְךָ אֶלְחָנָן בֶּן יָעָרִי אֶרְגִּים בֵּית הַלְחָמִי אֶת גָּלִית
Ch. וַיְךָ אֶלְחָנָן בֶּן יָעָרִי אֶת לְחָמִי אֶחָי גָּלִית

According to II xxiii 24, I Ch. xi 26 the name of Elhanan's father was neither Yaari nor Yair nor Yaur but Dodo (דָּדוֹ), and Josephus Ant. vii 302 (XII 2) has here ὁ συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ = דָּדוֹ. In these circumstances it may be suggested that the original text from which both II xxi 19 and Ch. xx 5 are ultimately derived probably ran somewhat as follows:—

וַיְךָ אֶלְחָנָן בֶּן דָּדוֹ בֵּית הַלְחָמִי אֶת יָעָרִי אֶחָי גָּלִית
"And Elhanan, the son of Dodo, the Beth-lehemite, smote Yair the brother of Goliath". Damage to this and attempts to remedy it might easily give rise to our texts.

Some such view is far more probable than the discrediting of the whole well attested

and several Greek cursives read "once and (or) twice" instead of **כִּי לֹא נָסָה** "for he had not tried it".

In xviii 27 the LXX rightly reads "one hundred" for "two hundred" (cf. II iii 14).

episode of David's victory and all that is bound up with it on the strength of a few words in a manifestly corrupt verse of a badly preserved book derived from an inferior source¹. It is certainly unlikely that a text which contradicts all our other information on two entirely independent facts — the paternity of Elhanan and Goliath's death — is in its original form.

In the light of this it becomes easier to separate the three accounts of the rise of David of which portions occur in M. T. In xvi 14—23, which we have seen to belong to N, he is a mature warrior² who is taken into Saul's service as a musician and made his armour-bearer. In xvii 12—31 (G) he is a boy who comes on a visit to the camp and is brought before Saul. In both these he is well known to the king before he fights Goliath. But in xvii 55—58 (editorial) Saul enquires whose son he is when he goes out to meet the Philistine and does not learn till after the contest.

Similarly there are three accounts of David's subsequent position. In xviii 13 (N) he is removed from his former post and made a captain of a thousand: but he has already been made commander of the troops in xviii 5 (editorial). Nevertheless in xix 9f. (N) and xviii 10f. he is still carrying out his earlier duties as a musician to the king. The position of xviii 10f. is incompatible with xviii 5: but xix 9f. is not necessarily inconsistent with it in view of the narrative of xix 7, which seems to mean that David resumed his old relations with Saul as the result of the reconciliation effected by Jonathan. Presumably one of the accounts other than N appointed David Saul's musician after the fight with Goliath.

It will be observed that in its idyllic character xvii 12—31 resembles G's account of the rise of Saul.

On what did the editor work? In one passage he seems to have taken N as his basis. The war with Amalek which provides the background of his theme in xv is narrated elsewhere in an extant portion of G (xiv 48), so that it is probable that his work here replaces an original account of N. In xx 8, again, which, as we shall see, possibly belongs to N, the reference to the covenant agrees with

1) A. R. S. Kennedy (Century Bible ad loc) cancels the word Goliath in I xvii 4, xxi 10 and xxii 10 without any evidence, and concludes that David fought an unknown Philistine. This is arbitrary and unconvincing.

2) It may of course be, as some critics think, that xvi 18 has been expanded, many of the epithets which David deserved in his later career being inserted by some admiring reader or editor.

xviii 3, which may therefore be based on a portion of N that has not been preserved. On the other hand, in xxviii his basis appears to have been G, and the story of Saul's death contradicts N, so that it must come from G or the anti-Saul editor. Allowing the latter point to be doubtful, we may reasonably hold that the editor operated on a combination of G and N, and not on either source separately, and this is strongly confirmed by what we have seen of the relation of his story of Samuel and David to the two narratives of Saul's elevation.

The analysis here is thus approximately as follows:—

N xvii 1—11, 32—54 (in a shorter form), xviii 6b—9, 12—16, 20—29a.

G xvii 12—31, xviii 10f. (probably)¹, 17—19. Editorial xvii 55—xviii 5, and also xxviii 17f. II i 6—10, 13—16.

In xix it is evident that 18—24 comes from neither N nor G. It may have been inserted by a compiler from some collection of stories of the prophets in the same way as the Psalms in II xxi f. were included in our book. Its affinities are with II K. i.

The opening words of xx 1 are editorial and bring us back to the main narrative.

On the other hand xix 11—17 contains a well-knit, unitary story obviously belonging to N, the source in which Michal had become David's wife.

Ch. xix 1—10 presents great difficulty. There seems to have been a fusion of two accounts; in one David lies hidden in the field and overhears the conversation between Jonathan and his father (xix 2b—3a), while in the other he is not present at the interview and is subsequently sent for and informed of its tenour: but no analysis is now possible. The words "on the day of the deed" in xx 19 appear to contain a euphemistic reference to Saul's attack; if so, they belong to an account in which David was hidden during the interview. In it the attempt on his life took place the same day, and this does not allow for the victory of xix 8, which is thus derived from another source. We shall find that xx 19 seems to belong to N. In this case xix 9f. comes from it and 8 from G. This would agree with the view that xviii 10f., which duplicates xix 9f. (N), probably comes from G, which may have placed the spear incident earlier than N and have attributed the final rupture

between Saul and David to a victory of the latter's.

If this view is approximately correct, G was concerned to cut out of his account of David the whole of the story of Michal, perhaps because it was too intimately bound up with episodes like the dancing before the Ark that reflected little credit on his hero.

The facts of xx are baffling, and there is reason to fear that the trouble is partly due to deep seated corruption of the text. The difficulties, apart from those that may be remedied by corrections of the kind generally accepted, are as follows: (1) there is a confusion between the morrow and the third day as the time when David will be informed; (2) verses 9—17 are confused and unsatisfactory in the forms in which we have them; and (3) the interview between David and Jonathan in 40—42 is at variance with the whole theory of the stratagem, according to which Jonathan communicates to David the news of his danger and the need for haste without his having to expose himself by coming out of cover.

Of these the third is the easiest to solve. The writer who told of the elaborate precautions for secrecy cannot be credited with the subsequent interview, and accordingly 40—42 must come from a different hand from that to which we owe the main narrative of 18—39. We have seen above (p. 8) that the reference in II xxi 7 would be compatible with the view that 40—42 belongs to G, though it is too indecisive to prove anything.

In 18—39 it is clear that the procedure contemplated would embrace the best part of three days i. e. the two days of New Moon and the morning (ver. 35) of the third day. The author of that cannot have written the end of ver. 5 in either the Hebrew or the Greek form.

Moreover the Massoretic *עד הערב השלישית* is impossible, for *ערב* is masculine. The last word was, however, unknown to the pre-Hexaplar LXX, so that here we have the work of somebody who supposed that David would learn the news on the evening of the first day, glossed in the Hebrew by a word that was intended to reconcile this with the other account. We notice too that the stratagem is initiated by David, while in 18ff. it is from Jonathan that the suggestions come.

In ver. 12 we again find the word *השלישית* in a foreign context and cannot construe the Hebrew. Most Greek copies have *τριτοῦ*, but z (mg) appears to attribute the word to Symmachus. A variant *ἐπιμελῶς* perhaps represents a corruption of (see the Greek rendering of Prov. xiii 24 *שְׁחַרְתָּ*), which is not translated at all in most Greek texts. Possibly *מַחַר* *כַּעַת* *מַחַר* is original (agreeing with what appears to be the true form of 5b) and the gloss *השלישית* ousted in the text used by the Greek translator.

The first eight verses of the chapter can be made

¹) The attribution of xviii 10f. is very doubtful. It can hardly come from N in view of xix 13 and xix 9f. or from the editor. It probably belongs to G but might be due to an error in copying.

to yield a tolerable sense with emendations¹, but the following passage is full of difficulties.

In 9 the Massoretic אָתָה וְלֹא is unintelligible. The Greek reads καὶ ἐάν μή (so BA Sahidic: all other authorities except the Ethiopic omit εἰς τὰς πόλεις σου). The last four words are put at the end of the verse by boc, e, and Jacob of Edessa. The Ethiopic MS S has after "and" nuntiabo tibi et si non fueris in civitate tua veniam ad te: but there is no hint anywhere else that David was really going to Bethlehem. It is impossible to suggest a really convincing emendation.

David's question in 10² does not agree with 9 if the true text of that verse contained a promise by Jonathan to tell him the news should Saul prove hostile: but it is the natural introduction to 18—39. The difficulty of communication which prompts the question is ultimately overcome by the device of shooting the arrows. This verse then belongs to the source that extended the events over three days.

In 12a it is necessary either to read "Witness the Lord etc." with the Syriac or "The Lord etc. knoweth" with the Greek. The difficulty of the next words has already been noticed.

In 12b 13 boz (mg) c, e, sometimes supported by other authorities have καὶ (om o Sah Eth) ἀποστελῶ πρὸς σὲ εἰς τὸ πεδίον 13. καὶ ἐάν κακόν γίγνεται καὶ τὸ ποιήσαι καὶ τὸ followed by εἰς μή ἀνοίσω τὰ κακά. This gives an intelligible and logical text: — "And behold if he is good towards David I will send to thee in the field (the) πολλήτης λίγον 13. And if he be bad (γάρ), may the Lord do so unto Jonathan and more if I do not bring to thee the evil" (γάρ). אָמַן לֹא אָבִיא גָּוֹן.

It will be observed that in this version 13a entirely agrees with 40—42 (G).

At this point there is a transition. What is now contemplated is not the question of David's immediate safety but his future greatness. The prayer that God may be with David as He was with Saul regards him as already a candidate for the throne and this is the standpoint of the following verses. It is impossible to say whether this transition is due to a junction of sources or to some other cause.

In 14 for the first לֹא B and some other authorities have καὶ μὲν וְאָוָלָם. The second לֹא is wanting in the LXX. " was omitted by the pre-Hexaplar LXX.

In 33 for קָלַה הִיא we should read with LXX קָלַת הָרָעָה (הָהִיא?).

In 34 we should omit דָּזֵן with B. It may have come in from 3.

Certain sutures may then be detected. It is very obvious that 13b ff. comes from a different source from 13a. The latter apparently concludes arrangements for ensuring David's safety, the former is part of a speech which looks to his future kingdom. A similar discrepancy is apparent between 39 and 41. The object of the shooting arrangements had been to convey the news to David unseen: but in 41—42 (G) there is a meeting in the open field. There is possibly an instance of resumptive repetition in the rising of xxi 1

compared with xx 41a and II ix led us to think that 13b—15 were taken from N (p. 5). It would therefore seem that we are justified in referring to it the vivid account of the shooting device, and to G the concluding verses of the chapter and 13a. In that case N is the document that extends the episode over three days, while G places it on the first day of New Moon. In N Jonathan fears direct communication with David, but in G he comes to the field and speaks to him personally.

In N Jonathan takes the lead, in G David.

We may then assign tentatively to N xx 10f., 13b—16, 18—41a (up to "the Argob"), xxi 1 from יָלַל ("and he went"), and to G xx 12—13a, 41aβ (from יָלַל ("and he fell")), 42. Of xx 1b—9 the greater part seems to come from G, but xx 8 refers to a covenant. G provides this in xxiii 18, so that an earlier covenant would more probably belong to N. The attribution of xx 17 is also very difficult. It may come from either source.

The rest of I xxi—II i comes from N with the following exceptions: —

G xxi 11—xxii 5, xxiii 14—xxv 1a, xxviii 3b—16, 19—25.

Editorial xxviii 17f., II i 6—10, 13—16.

It is of course impossible to feel any certainty as to the exact amount of the editorial work in I xxviii and II i.

§ 6. The Analysis of II Samuel ii 1 to I Kings ii 46.

The principal work of analysis of this section has already been carried out in §§ 2f., but certain details were reserved for subsequent consideration which they must now receive.

In II ii ver. 10a (certainly rightly) and 11 (with probability) are regarded as editorial insertions. Otherwise the chapter is a continuous portion of a unitary narrative.

In iii, 2—6a is an insertion, and in accordance with the practice of resumptive repetition a phrase of the original text about there being war between the houses of Saul and David is quoted in 6a from I. The list of David's children is paralleled by the similar list in v 13—15. In I K. i 5 N introduces Adonijah the son of Haggith in a way that suggests that he could rely on his reader's knowledge of the fact that he was a son of David. The only previous mention is in II iii 4, which consequently is probably derived from N. The present positions of the lists are presumably due to an editor. Originally they may perhaps have been continuous and have formed N's transition from II xx to I K. i.

More serious questions arise on iii 6—39. "The section seems to be generally regarded as homogeneous; only Bonk characterises 12—16 as an interpolation. In fact the story is overfull and there is reason to suspect that two accounts have been wrought into one. Verse 12 would join well to verse 1. But the division comes more naturally after verse 19 than after verse 16. One of the two accounts made

1) In addition to those generally accepted יִיְאמַר in ver. 1 should be transposed to stand immediately after "Jonathan" as in the pre-Hexaplar LXX.

2) Reading בָּקָר with the LXX for the Hebrew אֲוֹמָה.

Abner send to David by the hand of messengers; the other made him come in person. In the former document his motive was simply the conviction that David was the man of the future. The other gave the quarrel with Ishbaal as the occasion¹.

This is hypercriticism. The reply to the messengers in 13 contemplates a future interview, nor is there any discrepancy between the reasons alleged².

The text has, however, suffered, certainly in 12, and perhaps elsewhere; but there seems to be no reason for doubting the unity of the narrative. A theory of interweaving of sources is here improbable having regard to the block of homogeneous material in which this passage occurs.

In this chapter ver. 30 is also regarded as an interpolation. That again leaves our main problem unaffected.

We have already seen that iv 4 is misplaced (above p. 5). The remarks about Beeroth and the Beerothites in 2b, 3 have been assigned to an editor or annotator. With these exceptions it is admitted that the chapter is homogeneous and continues what precedes.

In v 1—3 we find its necessary sequel, but here again interpolation is suspected. If the tribes came to David in 1a, it was quite unnecessary for them to come again in 3; but if there has been an editorial insertion, the phrase is due to the practice of resumptive repetition. It is not necessary to suppose that this is an extract from another source. More probably it is an editorial addition based on I xviii 16 designed to emphasise the legitimacy of the Davidic dynasty.

In v 4f. there is a bit of editorial framework. The order of the rest of the chapter is incorrect. The narrative of the Philistine expedition of ver. 17 attaches immediately to 3. It has often been pointed out that the hold (*המצודה*) of 17 is probably Adullam. Presumably the erroneous order is due to somebody who thought that the reference was to the "hold" of Zion in 7.

It would seem that there is an ancient corruption in 22 where we read "Rephaim". This valley is too far from Gibeon (so read in v 25 with LXX and 1 Ch. xiv 16. M. T. of 1 Ch. xiv 13 has "in the valley" only). Is xxviii 21 refers to these two battles and speaks of a "valley in Gibeon", which could not be Rephaim. It may be conjectured that originally Gibeon or some other name stood in this passage and became obliterated. Rephaim was then supplied in most of our texts from 18, but not in M. T. of 1 Ch.

This clears the geographical difficulty. Historically the course of events is as follows: David is anointed. The Philistines come up to meet the danger to their suzerainty and are beaten in the valley of Rephaim. They thereupon gather another force which advances as far as Gibeon where David wins a decisive victory. Either then or between the two battles the king takes Jerusalem.

To what source should v 17—25 be assigned? There is no strong indication, but the general impression left is that the passage finds its counterpart in G in the statement of viii 1a. This points to N, and the general character of the narrative resembles other passages of that document (cf. I xxiii 1—5, 10—12).

The other points on v are not numerous. With 13—15 we have already dealt (above p. 20). But it is not certain that 10—12 are in their original posit-

ion. It would seem that 11 may be the original introduction to vii 1. This however is a matter of small importance.

Ch. vii is generally thought to be due to an editor. There may have been editorial expansion, but the kernel of the chapter cannot be later than the reign of Solomon. In no subsequent age could Nathan's panegyric on that monarch have been written. The introduction to it glances at the preceding history (6f., 10f.) and suggests the scope of the work in which it is embodied. Accordingly 1—16 (subject only to textual criticism) must be regarded as an integral part of N. That there should have been some reply by David is not improbable, but no convincing reason can be adduced either to prove or disprove the thesis that the rest of the chapter is wholly or partly due to an editor. Certainly 23 is unlike N, which elsewhere refers only to matters of history contained in its own narrative, and the tone of much of what remains scarcely resembles his work.

Kennedy holds that in x 15—19 "we have... a doublet of viii 3—8, the source of which is not clear". He points out that in xi 1 Joab resumed operations against Ammon as soon as the season allowed, and that here David appears in command to the exclusion of Joab, while the representation of Hadadezer as the head of a number of subject kings conflicts with x 6 where Zobah is one of four coordinate states¹. To this may be added the important fact that the expression "the Syrians that were beyond the River" in x 16 is post-exilic. It refers to Syria from the standpoint of the great monarchies of Mesopotamia, not in the language that would be natural to a native. In addition we find here an example of resumptive repetition. In 15 we read יְרָא אָרָם כִּי נָגַע... כִּי נָגַע לְפָנֵי יְהָוָה. And in 19 יְרָא אָרָם כִּי נָגַע... כִּי נָגַע לְפָנֵי יְהָוָה. It would therefore appear that the text at one time ran somewhat as follows: "And Aram saw that it was worsted before Israel and made peace with Israel and served them, and Aram feared to succour the children of Ammon further". Then the intervening matter is due to an exilic or post-exilic editor who worked on a variant account of some of the events of viii. Of its provenance we know nothing.

Efforts have been made to cut out the narrative of the war with Ammon and assign it to a separate document². They rest on no substantial argument and are too subjective to merit discussion.

The next passage called into question is xii. Here again the reasons advanced against portions of the chapter are too flimsy to carry weight. It is possible that there has been some expansion, but it cannot be either proved or disproved.

We pass to xiv 25—27. In ver. 27 Absalom has three sons and one daughter Tamar, but in xviii 18 he has no son³. In xiv 26 there is a reference to the king's weight. That is thought to be an indication of post-exilic date, the king being identified with the Persian monarch. It is noteworthy that in x 16 we found a similar trace of post-exilic editing. It would

1) But see I K. xi 23f.

2) See e. g. L. Rost, Die Überlieferung von der Tronnachfolge Davids, 1926, 74—80. He regards it as consisting of x 6—xi 1, xii 26—31.

3) Here his only daughter is called Tamar: in I K. xv 2 we read of Maacah as daughter of Abishalom (Absalom — perhaps, but not certainly, the same person). Josephus (Ant. viii 249) makes her Tamar's daughter. But Maacah was the name of Absalom's mother (II iii 3), and Tamar the name of his sister (II xiii 1).

1) H. P. Smith Samuel, 1904, 275 cp. 277.

2) In 19a and probably also in 19b א should be omitted with the pre-Hexaplar LXX.

therefore seem that a late annotator has here inserted matter partly in his own language. The passage is, however, misplaced. It has no connection with the context. Part of it may have been intended as an explanation of xviii 9. It seems, therefore, to be a note to ch. xviii. We have no means of judging whence the annotator derived his information.

In I K. i, ii, again, we find no duplicate narratives. The main passages suspected of being additions to the original source are ii 2b—4, 10—12 and 27, i. e. an exhortation improving the occasion, which may well have been written in or after the exile, a part of the framework, which, however, may be original, and a reference to the previous history.

An argument is sometimes based on certain differences between the LXX, and the Hebrew which must now be examined. The citations follow Swete's notation: but some obvious errors in the text of B, such as Magao for Megiddo, have been silently corrected. In and after ii 35 B has the following: —

35. And the king put Benaiah the son of Jehoiada in his room over the host: and the kingdom was established in Jerusalem: and Zadok the priest did the king put as first priest in the room of Abiathar.

35a. And the Lord gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart even as the sand that is on the sea shore [v 9].

35b. And Solomon's wisdom excelled all the children of the East and all the wise men of Egypt [v 10].

35c. And he took Pharaoh's daughter, and brought her into the city of David, until he had made an end of the house of the Lord first and the wall of Jerusalem, round about [iii 1b]: in seven years he made and finished [cp. vi 9, 14, 38].

35d. And Solomon had three score and ten thousand that bare burdens and four score thousand that were hewers in the mountains [v 29].

35e. And Solomon made the sea and the knobs and the great basons and the pillars and the pool of the court and the bronze sea. And he built Millo as a defence over it: he cut through the city of David.

35f. Thus Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the city of David unto her house which he had built for her: then did he build Millo [ix 24].

35g. And three times in a year did Solomon offer burnt offerings and peace offerings upon the altar which he built unto the Lord, and burn incense before the Lord. So he finished the house [ix 25].

35h. Now these were the chief officers that were over Solomon's work: three thousand and six hundred which bare rule over the people that wrought in the work [ix 23].

35i. And he built Hazor and Megiddo and Gezer and Beth-horon the upper and Baalath [cp. ix 15, 18].

35k. Save after he had built the house of the Lord and the wall of Jerusalem round about; after this he built these cities.

35l—o. And while David was still alive, he commanded Solomon, saying Behold etc. (continuing as in ii 8f.).

It is argued that here we have a recension that knew nothing of the charge given by David to Solomon in ii 2ff. This is supposed to be proved by 35l—o. It is only necessary to read the passage as a whole to see how perverse such reasoning is. As it stands it represents nothing in the nature of a recension, for no author or editor could possibly have intended such an arrangement. The fragment as to the kingdom being established in Jerusalem which has accidentally found its way into 35 followed by

35a b and part of c may have stood together in some recension, but the end of 35c is clearly out of place. There is no connection with the beginning of the paragraph and 35d; and 35e is hopelessly incoherent as a link between 35d and f. The Greek addition really consists of two parts. First somebody inserted in the margin of ii verses 35a—k, which seem to have been damaged scraps of an incomplete MS. When these notices had been taken into the text, the connection of the story of Shimei with what precedes was seen to be ruined. To remedy this an editor added David's instructions, prefacing them with a few words that were required to make them read in their new context.

The Greek is thus valueless for an attack on the Hebrew of ii. But it will be observed that the statement as to the kingdom being established in Jerusalem is a variant to ii 46b¹, and the other extracts seem to come from a recension in which this was immediately followed by v 9f. This arrangement does not seem better than that which places v 9f. before v 11f.

David's last speech is also sometimes attacked on the ground that Joab's fate was really due to his participation in Adonijah's movement and not to any wish of the old king. But 31—33 strongly confirms the view that his previous crimes were largely responsible for it. Son and father probably held identical views on this subject, especially as the latter thought he had additional reason to detest his great commander after Absalom's death.

On the whole therefore we may rest satisfied that in II ix—xx, I K. i, ii we have a block of history from a single, excellent, continuous early source. The only real duplicate narratives it contains are a couple of post-exilic insertions (in II x 15—19, xiv 25—27), but homiletic expansions and editorial framework may have been added.

It is sometimes said that II xxi 15—22 and xxiii 8—39 belong to the same source as II v 17—25. This seems unlikely. The general character of the notices does not resemble either N or G, which are concerned with the king and his house and kingdom. Here the interest centres in exploits of his heroes.

Further xxiii 13f. is curiously worded if it comes from the author of v 17ff. (N). We should expect some such phraseology as "when David was in the hold etc." from a historian who had already recounted the battle. Whence he went down in xxi 15 is not clear, but as the war was with Israel, and in 17 he is the lamp of Israel, he appears already to have been king of the twelve tribes. The statement of v 20 as to Gath can scarcely be from the same hand as viii 1 if Gath should be read in the latter verse with 1 Ch. xviii 1². Hence the passage does not seem to come from G.

A more serious difficulty lies in reconciling the view that David did not thereafter go out to battle with G's statements in viii 13. It is of course possible that xxi relates to a subsequent war with the Philistines, but this does not harmonise with the tone of viii which appears to give a final summary of David's wars as a preliminary to closing the account of his reign. Accordingly, it would seem more probable that we have here excerpts from some other document. In I Ch. xi 41b—47 we find a continuation of the list. It is easy to suppose that there were in existence

1) בִּירוּשָׁלָם for בִּירוּשָׁלָם

2) This reading is however not supported by 1 K. ii 39f. according to which Gath was Philistine in the early years of Solomon.

documents dealing with the paladins and deeds of daring of the reign, and that our excerpts are derived from some such.

Lastly we have the Psalms, II xxii and xxiii 1—7. There is no evidence as to their provenance.

§ 7. The Analysis of I Samuel i 1—vii 2.

Two references to the earlier history in N and G respectively deserve attention. In II vi 2 (N) we read of David's going to remove the Ark from Baalat or Baale Judah. No explanation whatever is given of how it came to be there, and the narrative would not be perspicuous in this matter if we had no other information on the subject. It is a fair inference that N had already told the story of how the Ark came to this place. In the early chapters of I, however, we find an account of its arrival at Kiriath Jearim, (I vi 21—vii 2), that name being used and not Baalat or Baale Judah as in II vi 2. This makes it probable that our present account is not from N.

Positive evidence that it was known to G is provided by I xiv 3, where the unusual description of the priest as 'brother of Ichabod' requires a previous narrative in the same document explaining who Ichabod was. On the other hand, when N mentions this family in xxi f., it does so in a manner that does not connect with any previous account. It thus appears that the stories of Ichabod and of the coming of the Ark to Kiriath Jearim belong to G.

Samuel's position in portions of i 1—vii 2 makes it impossible to hold that the section is derived in its entirety from this source (contrast iii with ix 6 ff. G). On the other hand it agrees generally with the rôle he plays in vii 3—viii 22, x 17 ff. (N and an editor of Judges). It would seem, therefore, that, as in other parts of the book, both N and G are present.

In ii 1—10 the Psalm falls out of account as being presumably from a separate source. It follows i 28a immediately in the pre-Hexaplar Greek, and may have been added to the book at a late date. Leaving aside this and ii 27—36, of which more hereafter, we find the following facts.

The narrative of vi 21—vii 2 is continuous with what precedes up to iv 1. In the LXX iii 21 (end) iv 1 (beginning) run thus: "And Eli was very old and his sons continued to go and their way [=on a way that] was evil before the Lord. 1. And it came to pass in those days that the Philistines collected for war against Israel". It will be observed that this is the

sequel of ii 22—25. On the other hand that paragraph is followed by a half verse (26a) which resumes 21b. Further 22—25 in its turn is the continuation of 12—17, which again is followed by a half verse (18a and the first word of b) resuming 11. Thus the indications are that the passage is composite. From one source (N) comes the narrative in which Samuel is prominent (i 1—28, ii 11, 18b—21, 26, iii 1—21 (up to Samuel))¹, from the other (G) the narrative of the fortunes of Eli's sons and the Ark (ii 12—17, 22—25, iii 21b (in the Greek form) iv 1—vii 2). The Samuel source must have had some tale of some of the matters treated in the extracts from G. This is shown by iii. On the other hand Samuel is not mentioned at all in G. That accords with its subsequent delineation of him as an obscure village seer.

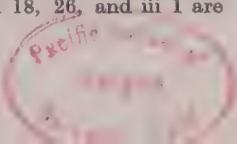
The passages assigned to G appear to be a continuous narrative. It was not necessarily composed by him, but may have been taken up into his book from some earlier written history of the period. It is not a complete document, for ii 12 is not a possible beginning. There is no evidence as to its history or affinities.

The account of Samuel assigned to N may have been written by the author of that document. More probably it was incorporated by him in his work from an earlier written source. There is no clear indication anywhere of the hand to which it is due. The later position of Samuel as the leader of Israel is clearly foreshadowed, and it forms the indispensable prelude to the subsequent history.

There are allusions in iii 12—18 to previous threats to Eli which do not quite correspond with what we have in ii 27—36. Moreover the narrative is incomplete without further information as to the conduct and fate of Eli's sons, and the transition from what we are told of the prophet in iii 21, iv 1 to his sudden speech in vii 3 shows that we are dealing with fragments. Probably we have lost much through accident, for it is difficult to believe that an editor would fail to supply some better connection than we find after vii 2: but the dovetailing of N and G in ii is by no means unskilful.

The remaining passage, ii 27—36, contains a glaring anachronism in the reference to the anointed king (35). On its face the passage is a prophecy after the event. It is obviously not from the hand of either of our principal

1) It is of course probable that some of the links that resume the narrative in ii 18, 26, and iii 1 are editorial.



narrators. The fact that the man of God is nameless points to an editor, and its ring in a measure recalls the message of the angel in Jgs. ii 1—3. There is something of the same reproachful retrospect over promises which had been abused by bad conduct.

It may be assigned to an editor who reappears in 1 K. ii 27, but in view of iii 12—14 it may be that here as in Kings he has expanded and altered earlier statements of N.

§ 8. The Sources of Judges iii—xvi.

In the books of Samuel it is often possible to feel tolerable confidence in the analysis of large blocks of narrative. There is scarcely any part of Judges of which as much can be said. The main interest lies in the editing rather than in the sources. Nevertheless an attempt must be made to deal with the latter as far as possible.

It is natural to begin with ch. ix which we have already found to belong mainly to N.

In the Hebrew Abimelech's father is uniformly called Jerubbaal. The Septuagint authorities provide variants. Gideon is substituted e. g. in 1 by w and in 2 and 28 by the Latin, while in the latter verse many cursives have both names. This is important for our examination of other passages. The scribes sought to remove Baal by every means in their power and we cannot therefore accept the testimony of M. T. in any passage as conclusive evidence that Gideon is original¹.

That Jerubbaal was the name predominantly used in at any rate one edition of Judges is further proved by I xii 11 "The Lord sent Jerubbaal". The editor who wrote that used a text in which Jerubbaal was the usual name, not Gideon as in our present recension. Traces of scribal manipulation are to be found in Jgs. viii 35, where the original Jerubbaal has not been ousted by the marginal correction which now appears by its side, and vii 1, where the name is glossed with the words "he is Gideon". In these two cases we have the two readings together. It is only in viii 29 that the original has been preserved unglossed. This like ix appears to have been omitted from some earlier edition of Judges, for the editorial formula as to the land resting precedes it in 28.

After Jotham's parable ix 19a resumes 16. The intervening matter is commentary merely explaining the position by repeating what has already been told. The style gains greatly by its omission. Probably too 19 itself has been affected by glossing and we should read "And now if ye have acted in good faith and honour towards Jerubbaal and towards his house, rejoice etc.". The superiority of this text to the received Hebrew is self-evident. In 1919 I suggested that 26—41 is misplaced and should stand before 22 or 23. This still seems to me correct². The evil spirit that arose between Abimelech and the Shechemites and the setting of ambushes to interrupt his communications are subsequent in time to the Gaal episode. The following may have been the original order: 22, 26—41, 23—25.

1) Similarly the word **הַבָּל** itself should be restored for Elohim in 7, 23, 56 and 57 in all of which passages the latin still retains the true reading Dns. Probably too we should read Jobel as the name of Gaal's father with B in place of the Massoretic Ebed.

2) Bibliotheca Sacra 1919, 359ff.

This leaves the problem presented by 42f. Perhaps this may be met by transposing 42 to stand after 43a. I still doubt, however, whether 42b is original. It looks like resumptive repetition.

With these changes the whole appears to belong to N¹.

What are its antecedents in the preceding chapters?

In viii 35 the words "And they did not act kindly with the house of Jerubbaal according to all the good he did with Israel" belong to it² as does 29.

"The character of the narrative as a whole" writes Professor G. F. Moore³ "displays a striking affinity to viii 4—21; of the pragmatism which pervades large parts of chs. vi, vii there is no trace".

We may therefore reasonably hold that viii 4—21 also comes from N. It follows that viii 1—3 which relates something that did not happen till after the close of the pursuit comes from another source.

The story of Gideon is not unitary, but it is impossible to divide it in the same way as e. g. I xxi—xxx. Such an analysis as that of Eissfeldt⁴ is convincing proof of the impossibility of carrying out the task in these chapters. All that can be done is to make a few suggestions.

In at least one passage textual criticism can throw light on a puzzle that is quite insoluble without it. In vi 35 (M. T.) "he sent messengers in all Manasseh and it too gathered after him, and he sent messengers in Asher and in Zebulun and in Naphtali, and they went up to meet them". Yet it is not till vii 23 that Manasseh appears. For the italicised words B has simply "and". The gathering of these tribes is then narrated in vii 23.

The statement of the camp of Midian in vii 8b compared with vii 1 is an instance of resumptive repetition. Consequently the passage as to the reduction of Gideon's force (2—8a) comes from some other hand. There is no way of effecting a satisfactory reconciliation between the summonses to other tribes for assistance and the representation of vii 2—8a according to which Gideon reduced his force by divine command. However a recognition of the existence of differences of authorship removes the difficulty. One narrator held that he had only his own clansmen with him and appealed for help: another told that the reason for his having so small a force was that he had deliberately reduced it in obedience to a divine command.

1) The following emendations may be made: 28 insert **וְהַ** with A and its allies after **הַלְּ** in addition to the **בָּן** before **שָׁכָם** and for **עֲבָדָיו** read **הַעֲבָדִים** with dglnoptvw HP 84. Abimelech had claimed that he was a true son of Shechem (2f.). The meaning then is "Who is Abimelech and who is the son of Shechem that we should serve him? Is he not in reality the son of Jerubbaal (i. e. not a Shechemite at all on his father's side)? And his officer, Zebul, has made slaves of the men of Hamor, the father of Shechem (i. e. the true Shechemites)". In 31 for **צָרִים** restore **מִצְרִים**, the **מ** having dropped out after **הַגָּם** by haplography.

In 37 for **אָחָד** we may read **אָחָר** with B and its allies.

2) The word Gideon is a gloss which should be omitted with glnow Lat.

3) International Critical Commentary Judges, 1895, 237.

4) Die Quellen des Richterbuches 1925.

Now viii 18f. is the sequel to a story that differed from what we find in the preceding narrative. Midian in this account had massacred Jerubbaal's brothers at Mount Tabor. Hos. x 14 refers to some such occurrence.

וְכֹל מִכְצָרֵיךְ יֹשֶׁד כָּשֵׁד שָׁלֹמָן בֵּית אַרְבָּאֵל בַּיּוֹם מִלְחָמָה אֵם
עַל בְּנֵים רְשָׁתָה.

For BA Q have Σαλμαν; compare the Σαλμαν of A and its allies for M. T. A Q^a read צָלְמָנָע. Originally, then, this verse spoke of the destruction of the house of Jerubbaal by the Midianite king. This agrees with the earlier part of the narrative presupposed by Jgs. viii 18f. (N) and was doubtless derived from it.

The use of the name Jerubbaal in vii 1 shows that that verse comes from N. We have seen that it is resumed in viii 8, so that 9—11 come from the same source.

Elsewhere there are traces of an editor with whose work we met in I vii—xii. The anonymous prophet of vi 8—10 speaks just like Samuel in I x 18, xii 6, and also just like the messenger of Jgs. ii 1.

As G was evidently written in imitation of N with the intention of presenting a history of the period which should be more in accordance with its author's views, it is natural to suppose that it covered the period of the Judges. As a matter of fact some passages in what remains remind us of G. There is a resemblance between vi 5, vii 12 and I xiii 5. Jgs. vi 15 immediately recalls I ix 21, while Jgs. vii 22 with its statement of each man's sword being against his neighbour is reminiscent of I xiv 20 (N). Gideon's reconnaissance with his armourbearer reminds us of Jonathan's exploit; but just as that was narrated in both G and N, so here we may have a narrative based on elements of each¹.

In vi 37 there is a direct reference back to 14. These two verses would therefore seem to come from the same source. In this the hero may have been called uniformly Gideon and in any case its contents are totally unlike the history of N, which never deals with the supernatural.

The relative *וְ* appears in vi 17, vii 12 and viii 26. Of these vi 17 is certainly not N; vii 12 is probably editorial and may contain elements derived from both N and G, and viii 26 speaks of kings of Midian like N. Here again, then, we can find no certain clue.

Thus it is only possible to suggest the following allocations very tentatively: —

G vi 11—24 (possibly touched editorially), 36—40, vii 12, 16—22 (in parts) vii 23—viii 3.

N vi 34, vii 1, 9—11, 13—15, 16—22 (in parts), viii 4—21 (except 10 editorial), 24—26, 29, 35.

Editorial vi 1—10 (based in part on the sources), viii 10, 28, 33—34 (based on N).

Doubtful vi 33, 35, vii 12.

1) At first sight there seems to be a distinction between passages that speak only of Midian and others that join with it Amalek and the children of the East. Unfortunately, however, this does not help us far. The children of the East occur in viii 10 but the passage has been edited, as is shown by the portentous numbers of active warriors. If we could be sure that children of the East is original here, we might hold that N was the basis of vi 3, 33, and that the exaggerations in these passages and vii 12 are editorial: but the origin of the text is far too uncertain for any safe inference, especially as the Latin reads *et castra Madiā et Amalec et omnes viri adversarii expaverunt in vii 22.*

In vii 30—32 the formula of burial (32) closely resembles that used by G of Saul in II xxi 14, but such clues are too slight to count for much. Similarly viii 22f. may be merely editorial, intended to injure the cause of monarchy, or it may come from a source. And there is no clear sign as to the provenance of viii 27. The narrative of vii 16—22 appears to be compounded of both G and N.

It is often thought that the words "across the Jordan" in vii 25 are due to an editor who desired to harmonise the narrative of vii 23—viii 3 with viii 4 in which Gideon crosses the Jordan. This does not seem to be a necessary inference. Jgs. viii 4 itself presupposes some prior statements in the same narrative which may have covered somewhat the same ground as vii 23—viii 3. On the other hand the latter passage is not complete, and it may well be that in the source from which it is taken it was originally preceded by a statement that after the defeat the enemy fled different ways. One section crossed the Jordan high up and was pursued by Gideon and his immediate force: the rest met with the fate recounted in this passage. An editor who selected his materials from G and N preferred a portion of the narrative of the former — possibly because of the fulness of the narrative of the Ephraim episode, — and adopted the latter's vivid story of the pursuit of the two kings. There is no reason why the extracts from G and N should not be regarded as complementary, and our experience of the sources in Samuel certainly leads to the view that G largely followed N, presenting a version of the history that incorporated certain additional stories, excised details that were not acceptable to his views, and imported his own strong bias into the view taken of the past.

Some further matters require notice. The character of G here is that of a collector and editor of various narratives. For that reason it is perhaps possible that it was he who preserved the tales of vii 2—8 which conflict with his own view of the history. The more probable alternative is to suppose that this passage and also vi 25—32 were swept into Judges from some other sources, just as I xix 18—24 II xxi 15—22 xxiii 8—39 and various Psalms appear to have been swept into the Books of Samuel. Certainly vi 25—32 may have been composed at a time when the conflict with some form of Baal worship was acute. There are slight resemblances to the story of Elijah on Carmel.

It will further be observed that in the passages assigned to G we have a narrative which is none too friendly to Ephraim, and not unsympathetic to Naphtali and Zebulun¹. In this it resembles iv 6, a matter to which we shall have to revert hereafter.

The evidence of Ps. lxxxiii is inconclusive. It probably dates from the beginning of Jehu's reign², but it proves no more than that the Psalmist was acquainted with stories in which the names of the four Midian-

1) Moore's conjecture (Judges 200) that one source puts the scene of action in Shechem is refuted by the consistent indications of the narrative (see vi 33, vii 1, 8), and the references to Asher, Naphtali, Zebulun and Tabor. He further remarks (213) that "Naphtali and Asher were too remote to be of much use in such a pursuit". Probably, however, the difficulty arises from the joining of sources which narrated the calls to them at different points, and of the story of vii 2ff. We cannot say that the story in any of our sources in its complete original was such as to exclude the possibility of their intervention.

2) See The Historical Background of Psalm lxxxiii Jl. Pal. Or. Soc. viii, 1928, 180—186.

ite leaders occurred, and, as we have seen, that may have been the case with N and G. Isaiah's references (ix 3, x 26) are also too slight to be of much assistance.

So much for the trees: they should not, however, preclude us from seeing the wood. We have here portions of two stories, probably with additions, and in any case much cut about in the process of editing. The original facts, so far as they can be recovered, appear to be in outline as follows. The Midianites slew the relatives of Jerubbaal. He summoned his clan and made a surprise attack by night on their great encampment. The enemy fell into a panic and fled different ways. He pursued the group that were responsible for the massacre with his personal forces: meanwhile the neighbouring tribes fell upon other portions of the retreating enemy cutting them off at the Jordan. In the course of time many legends arose in popular tradition and some elements of our record are derived from it: but its chief constituents consist of two narratives, which differed as to the exact details of the night attack, but agreed in essentials. The younger (G) was animated by hostility to Ephraim and gives us an account of its action which may have been wanting or differently coloured in the older (N).

That the story of Jephthah is composite appears from the contrast between xi 34, where his house is in Mizpah, and 1—11a, 29, in which a totally different view appears. To appreciate the importance of this it is necessary to remember that the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter and consequently the annual commemoration by the daughters of Israel (xi 40) are linked with this Mizpah. Thus we have here the work of one writer who tells of the sacrifice and of another to whom the subject was so distasteful that he not merely omits the episode, but transfers Jephthah's home to a district which has no connection with it. This is parallel to the manner in which G disposed of the possibility of David's sacrificing to other gods abroad¹.

Comparing xi 29 (end) with 32a we see an example of resumptive repetition showing that the intervening matter is derived from a different source from its context. Moreover xi 29 is geographically impossible after the arrival at Mizpah in 11b. It is not clear from what precedes why Jephthah should have spoken all his words before the Lord in 11b, but the half verse forms an excellent introduction to the story of the vow (30f.). Putting together these considerations we may divide the narrative as follows:—
I x 17f., xi 11b, 30f., 34—40.
II xi 1—11a, 12—29, 32f. xii 1—6.

In I Jephthah's home is at Mizpah. It contains some writing of fine literary quality and a story of old times that a later generation found distasteful. Thus it is naturally assigned to N. II on the other hand places his home

in Tob, not in Mizpah, which is not reached till xi 29. It possesses the peculiarity of being strongly anti-Ephraimite¹, a fact which links it with G in the Gideon story. The phraseology of xi 29 may be compared with I ix 4 (G).

It is to be noted that xii 12—29 is largely based on Numbers though in a somewhat different text from that which we have. In this the passage contrasts with the practice of N which avoids references to matters not narrated by it except in the dating phrase "since the day when I brought up the children of Israel from Egypt" (II vii 6) (cf. Jgs. xix 30), which may be a reference to its original opening. It is not unlikely that as it began with the history immediately after the settlement it opened with some expression indicating that it took up the story at this point. G on the other hand inserts allusions to the Pentateuchal narrative from time to time (e. g. Jgs. vi 13, I iv 8).

Little can be said of the other narratives of Jgs. iii—xvi.

Of the source of iii 7—11 (Cushan-rishathaim and Othniel) no opinion can be formed. The whole episode is now presented dressed in editorial phraseology, and the only facts known to the editor were the oppression and the deliverance by Othniel. In passing, a protest should be registered against the view that Aram-naharaim is Iraq. There is not a single passage in the O. T. which this hypothesis fits.

The story of Ehud iii 12—30 is apparently unitary except for editorial framework, such slight inconveniences as have been noticed not justifying any attempt at division. There is nothing to indicate whence it was derived.

The same is true of iii 31 (Shamgar).

With iv we reach a passage that shows a definite tendency. In the song of Deborah preserved in v, which is the older account, we find numerous tribes or portions of tribes mentioned as having participated in the struggle, and we gain an idea of the substantial unity of Israel which its lack of organisation does little to weaken. But in iv only Zebulun and Naphtali are engaged (10). This surely points to one of these tribes as the probable home of the account.

Much has been made of the geographical difficulties, but at the time of writing the site of Hazor is still under discussion. It will be well to suspend judgement till more is known of it.

The differences between this narrative and the song should not be exaggerated. Sisera is the general of Jabin king of Hazor in one, in the other he seems himself to be a king. But as the poem itself says that the kings of Canaan came (v 19), the two representations are not inconsistent. If Jabin was overlord

1) The following emendations may be suggested: x 11 delete מ and מן with Kittel BH ad loc. and add Moab after Ammon; Origen found and obelised this word: 12 for צידונים ועמלק glnow and the Latin read Midian and Amalek (supported by A and the Ethiopic in both words though not in the omission of the Sidonians); (ם) and מען seem to have originated in mistakes for שְׂרֵי עַם: x 18 מִדְיָן should be read for שְׂרֵי הָעַם with A and its allies: xi 16 omit כִּי with A and its allies and attach the following words to the preceding verse; "Israel did not take etc. when they came up from Egypt, but went etc.": 18 וְאַתָּה אַרְצָ מֹאָב was added under the asterisk and is no part of the original text: So too הָהִיא in 21: 29 B dno qu Sah Eth^o seem to have read לְעָכָר.

1) See above § 3.

of a number of royal cities, all the facts would fit in naturally.

On a careful reading of iv it is impossible to feel confidence in any view that derives it from two sources. The editorial hands are, of course, in evidence, and it may be that in the course of transmission there has been some deterioration of the text, involving perhaps the loss of some material. On the whole, however, it seems to have come from a single hand. The style is not brilliant enough for us to suspect N. As G elsewhere has matter that appears to come from or to be sympathetic to the northern tribes Zebulun and Naphtali, we may suspect that this formed part of its history.

The theory that somebody deliberately mingled a story of Jabin with an entirely different history of Sisera without any intelligible motive raises far worse difficulties than those it is intended to remove. The combination of the two is as old as Ps. lxxxiii 10, and the presumption is that it is original.

The story of Samson xiii—xvi is a unit. There are no real clues as to its derivation. The burial formula xvi 31 “in the tomb of Manoah his father” as in viii 32, recalls II xxi 14 (G) rather than II ii 32, xvii 23 (N) where the father’s name is not given. A slightly less flimsy consideration is to be found in the character of the narrative which is a collection of folk tales. N is history, but stories of this sort are found elsewhere, possibly in G. It may come from the latter¹. It must however be remembered that the story of Samson is self-contained and stands in no organic relation to any other part of the Bible. It is therefore impossible to form a reasoned opinion as to its history.

In the same way nothing definite can be said of the stories of the minor Judges (x 1—5, xii 8—15).

§ 9. The Editing of Judges ii 11—xvi.

The stories of the Judges are set in a framework the chief element of which may be exemplified from the story of Othniel in iii 7—11.

“And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, and forgat the Lord their God, and served the Baalim and the Asheroth. Therefore the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he sold them into the hands of Cushan-rishathaim king of Aram-naharaim: and the children of Israel served Cushan-rishathaim eight years. And when the children of Israel cried unto the Lord, the Lord raised up a saviour to the children of Israel who saved them, even Othniel . . . And his hand prevailed against Cushan-rishathaim. And the land had rest forty years.”

The Wellhausen school regarded the main framework of Jgs. ii 6—xvi, I Sam. i—xii as due to an editor who wrote subsequently to

the reformation of Josiah and was strongly influenced by Deuteronomy¹. A reaction against this conception is represented by C. F. Burney’s *Judges* (2nd 1920). He argues (xii—1) that the main editor belonged to the late Ephraimite school and is pre-Deuteronomic. I do not accept his dating of Deuteronomy, but I agree with him in thinking that the work is earlier than Josiah’s reformation, and the writings which show the influence of the constant literary use of Deuteronomy². For the purpose of examining the question the editorial work will, in the first instance, be treated as a whole, though I think that there were at least two editors of importance.

When we examine the editorial preoccupations we find that the chief interests are entirely different from those that distinguish the editing of Kings under the influence of Deuteronomy.

In I Sam. xii stress is laid on the following ideas:—

1. The administration of Samuel has been pure and just (1—5).
2. The Lord has treated you and your ancestors very well (6—11).
3. You, however, forsook him from time to time and worshipped Baals and Astartes (9, 10).
4. You have now been ungrateful enough to demand a king; this is a fearful sin (12, 19).
5. If you behave well and are true to the Lord all will be well: otherwise it will fare badly with you (14—25).

Of these 1 is outside the line of thought of the Deuteronomic school altogether and may in any case probably be due to N and not to an editor; 2 and 5 are commonplaces of all Hebrew religious teaching and not specifically Deuteronomic; and 4 is directly contrary to the whole teaching of the Books of Kings and also to the Messianic hope. There remains only 3, and it is very significant that the chief religious danger apprehended is from the Baals and the Astartes. From 2 K. xxi we can see what were the abuses against which the Deuteronomic school fought,—bamoth, Baal-worship, Asherah after the fashion of Ahab, worship of the host of heavens, unlawful structures in the Temple, burning of children, witchcraft, etc., idolatry in the Temple (xxi 3—7). It is unnecessary to follow the

1) See J. Wellhausen *Prolegomena* 6, 1905, 227, 242—4; G. F. Moore *Judges*, 1895, xxxiv ff., S. R. Driver *Literature of the O. T.* 1913, 164.

2) Burney relies principally on linguistic arguments. They should be considered as supplementing the more important arguments from substance.

matter up with further evidence: the unlikeness of the two pictures is too great and obvious.

Nor, again, is there the slightest hint in the editing of any interest in the place which the Lord should choose to set His Name there or prejudice against bamoth. The distinctive teachings of the Deuteronomic school are conspicuously absent, while the editorial hatred of the monarchy is in the most complete opposition to its most cherished doctrines.

Exactly the same holds true of the editorial portions of I vii 3—viii 22 and x 17 ff.

In Judges, again, the constant fear is the worship of the Baals and the Astartes (ii 11, 13, iii 7, viii 33, x 6, 10). We find denunciations of other gods vaguely (ii 12, 17, 19, x 13), and of the gods of the six nations (iii 6) or the Amorite (vi 10). In only one passage (x 6) is there an addition of the gods of other peoples (compare x 16 foreign gods). The list in x 6 is very instructive "the Baals and the Astartes, and the god(s) of Aram, and the god(s) of Sidon (Phoenicia), and the god(s) of Moab, and the god(s) of the children of Ammon, and the god(s) of the Philistines"¹. The phrase "and the gods of Aram" is under the asterisk in the Syro-Hexaplar. It might easily have fallen out through homoeography and probably formed part of the original text.

The remarkable point about this list is that there is nothing in the narrative to justify the references to the gods of Aram and Sidon, and very little as to the others. The writer is not drawing on any facts he found in his sources; he is putting forward inferences either from the conditions of his own day or from his knowledge of history. This is confirmed by an observation of Wellhausen's who has pointed out that Gideon's retort to the angel in vi 13 rests on a totally different view of the facts from that contained in the editorial verses that immediately precede it². The remonstrance "if the Lord is with us why has all this befallen us etc." is incompatible with any consciousness of guilt on the part of Israel.

What is the period to which these references should be assigned? So far as our list is concerned, the latest date at which the gods of Aram are likely to have constituted a danger is the reign of Ahaz, of whom the Chronicler writes (II Ch. xxviii 23) that he sacrificed to the gods of Aram: but it is probable enough

1) Burney gives the last five items of the list to a priestly redactor! Can it really be supposed that after the exile there was any danger of the worship of these gods?

2) Op. cit 230.

that they were worshipped in Israel in the Syrian period. The gods of Phoenicia, of course, point straight to Solomon (I K. xi 5, II K. xxiii 13) or the period of Ahab and his family, and the reference to the gods of the Philistines recalls Ahaziah and Baalzebub (II K. i). Solomon, too, is known to have introduced the worship of the gods of Moab and Ammon to Jerusalem (I K. xi 7, 33); but the allusions to Syrian and Philistine gods do not appear to suit him. On the whole, therefore, the most probable view is that this clause was written by somebody who had in mind the religious evils introduced by Solomon and the house of Omri¹. It must be remembered that while the abuses associated specially with the latter were apparently overcome by Jehu (and in Judah Jehoiada), the former were not seriously attacked till the time of Josiah. They must have been a continuing stumbling block to all who were loyal to Israel's true faith.

These facts and the absence of any reference to the later evils make it probable that the clause was written before the days of Manasseh. If it is from the hand of the author of the main framework, it gives us the reign of Ahaz as his latest possible date, for Hezekiah was the darling of the prophetic party, and the denunciations of the kingdom cannot come from his reign. The clause may of course be an addition by a later hand. In that case the main editor is earlier, and the second editor worked in or before the age of Ahaz.

There is a further reason for thinking that the anti-monarchic editor of the book is not later than this monarch. The conception that monarchy was an institution that was disastrous to religion and that the rule of the Judges was greatly preferable is of course entirely at variance with any form of the Messianic hope. It was also directly contrary to the political interests of the people, and receives no support in any writings that show the influence of Deuteronomy, or, with one curious exception, of the great prophets. That exception is Is. i 26 f. which looks as if it had been written under the influence of our book. "I will restore thy judges as at the first and thy counsellors as in the beginning: thereafter shalt thou be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city." With that exception the idealisation of the period of the Judges at the expense of the monarchy is out of line with Hebrew thought which tended in ever greater measure to exalt the house of David and the ideas for which it came to stand. And,

1) Possibly also the delinquencies of Ahaz.

as we shall see (§ 10), the probable date of the appendix favours the idea that the second editor falls under Ahaz.

These considerations, then, point to two possible dates, the period immediately preceding Jehu's revolt and the reign of Ahaz, as the most probable. The constant worship of the Astartes has been abundantly proved by the result of modern excavation, while Hosea attests the prevalence of the cult of Baal in the northern kingdom. Yet his ideal of a return to the Lord their God and David their king (iii 5)¹ is not favourable to the view that the principal editor came after his teaching, and the continuous harping on the danger of the Baals appears rather to point to the time of the house of Omri.

Such, then, would appear to have been the date of the editor who gave Jgs. ii—xvi, I Sam. i—xii its distinctive aspect. The compilation of Jgs. xvii—xxi is reserved for the next § and will not be taken into consideration here.

In much of the foregoing we have treated the editing as practically a unity for the sake of simplicity in dealing with the Deuteronomic theory. A distinction must however be made between at least two editorial hands.

In i 1a "and it came to pass after the death of Joshua" and ii 10 we appear to have alternative introductions to ii 11. The matter that is common to Joshua and Judges (ii 6—9) belongs more properly to the former, and may have been written to make the connection after the initial words of the book had been separated from their natural sequel in ii 11 by the insertion of the narratives of the settlement². It is therefore with the last-named verse that the true Book of Judges begins.

In ii 11—iii 6 we find an editorial passage which is clearly composite. Not only is it very diffuse, but differences appear in the point of view. At one moment God's wrath shows itself in delivering the Israelites into the hands of oppressors (ii 14), at another in not driving out the nations (20f.). Again in 22 they are left not as a punishment but to try the fidelity

1) On the genuineness of this verse see my Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism, 1923, 109—111.

2) The present position of Josh. xxiv 1—27 is not early. The speech is not a doublet of the leader's farewell in xxiii but the original introduction to the covenant made much earlier at Shechem in accordance with the provisions of Dt. xxvii. The language used in 15b testifies to the speaker's expectation of continued life. The sequel in viii 30—35 has been rewritten to substitute Ebal as the mountain of the altar for Gerizim which still appears in the Latin text of Dt. xxvii 4 as well as in the Samaritan.

of the people, while in iii 2 the sole purpose is to practise the people in war.

Comparison with I xii shows that the accusations of the service of the Baals and Astartes (ii 13) and the subsequent pragmatism (14—16, 18, 19a) are from the hand of the main editor. His work may of course have been expanded. Then ii 12 and 20—iii 6 will (in the main) come from another hand.

The probable explanation is that, mixed with the scheme of this editor, we have the views of one of the sources and of another editor.

At this point we must once more consider Jgs. vi 7—10. It is an editorial passage, and its removal improves the connection of what remains. We read of the gods of the Amorites, and the Baal and Astartes are not mentioned by their accustomed names. It appears to be the work of a second editor. Similarly it looks as if in x 6 the other gods have been added to the Baals and Astartes, and the customary formula "and the children of Israel cried to the Lord" in x 10 has been expanded by 10a "saying" and 10b—16. We also note that in Jgs. ii 2f. we find editorial matter that is closely allied to vi 7—10, though the passage has not passed through the hands of the main editor of Judges. Touches by the same hand appear to be found in I viii 8, x 18 and xii 6b.

It seems, therefore, that there have been additions by a second editor who is responsible in the main for ii 2f., vi 7—10, x 10b—16, etc.¹. It is natural to hold that he has expanded the original work of the main editor in ii 11—19. If so, the main editor may have preceded Jehu, and the second editor may have worked in the reign of Ahaz.

In ii 20—iii 6 we have chiefly material that has nothing to do with the Judges properly so called. It tells of the failure to complete the settlement and has no connection with their history. It is difficult to suppose that it is due to either of our editors. More probably it has been added to their work by a later compiler who took it from earlier sources. Alternatively it should stand earlier than ii 11 and has been accidentally transposed. In that case iii 5, 6 may originally have preceded ii 20, and the whole section iii 5, 6, ii 20—24 represents an expansion of an early account of the state of affairs after Joshua's death. Speculations of this kind are, however, incapable of proof, and we shall do best to limit ourselves to the broad aspects of the matter.

We have first the principal editor of Jud-

1) Perhaps also for x 6a.

ges who is responsible for the original framework of Jgs. ii 11—I xii. He probably lived while the dynasty of Omri was on the throne and may have been a northerner.

Next there is a second editor whose hand appears in Jgs. ii 1f, vi 7—10, x 10b—16 etc. The reign of Ahaz is as likely a date for him as any other.

Interspersed with these we have other materials. The bulk of ii 20—iii 6 apparently comes from a history of the period of the settlement, though it has been worked over and glossed in a manner that makes it impossible now to identify the separate elements. It may well be that those are right who hold that a few clauses have been added later by somebody who was strongly influenced by Deuteronomy, but such additions, even if they could be certainly proved, do not affect the principal problems.

There are also other passages that show the processes of editing and compilation to have been very complex. It is clear e. g. that Jgs. viii 28 was not intended to be followed by 29: but the facts we have are not sufficient to enable us to reconstruct the story of the shaping of the book with any claim to probability, and it is better in such a case to avoid piling up hypotheses. There are no traces of the main editor in ix. It is easy enough to see that he would have been likely to reject the whole story as incapable of being fitted into his scheme of sin, foreign oppression etc. When a new edition of older histories was prepared, the earlier versions seem to have continued in many instances to circulate by its side, and sometimes our materials disclose a combination of the new and the old. This is the case e. g. with some of the additions preserved in the Septuagintal texts of Kings, and is the probable explanation of some of the discrepancies between M. T. and LXX in I xvii f., perhaps also, as we have just seen, of some of the phenomena of Jgs. ii f.

It is therefore perfectly possible that after the main editor had done his work, other hands introduced other old stories from earlier materials which he had not incorporated.

§ 10. The Appendix to Judges, cc. xvii—xxi.

The appendix to Judges (xvii—xxi) is quite unlike what immediately precedes and follows it. There is no trace of either N or G or the principal editor of Judges, and its tendency is entirely different from theirs. It is a reply to the panegyrists who represented

the period as superior from the religious and moral standpoints to the days of the kingdom. We see the hand of an editor who held that the absence of a king —i. e. a permanent national executive — was a great misfortune, and that monarchy is better than anarchy. He meets the view of his opponents by pointing to the religious and moral evils that characterised the period. "Look", he says in effect, "see what happened in your religious golden age. When you had the house of God at Shiloh an idolatrous sanctuary and a schismatic priesthood were set up at Dan. This had nothing to do with the religious backslidings of Solomon, the defection of Jeroboam, the apostacies of princes of the house of Omri, or the faithlessness of Ahaz. It all happened in the most unwarrantable manner, through the superstitious actions of a thieving private individual, followed by the high-handed marauding of some landless freebooters. A king by virtue of his office and its most elementary duties would have punished both offences — Micat's conduct and the subsequent robbery. And then consider the terrible moral and national scandals connected with Gibeah! That was the sort of thing that occurred in your alleged golden age. Can you really think that it was better than a monarchical dispensation?"

The appendix falls into two sections, xvii f. and xix—xxi.

In the criticism of the former the first matters to attract attention are the indications of date in xviii 30f. The statement that the family of Jonathan were priests to the tribe of Dan to the day of the exile of the land, if textually sound, cannot in its present form antedate the campaign of Tiglath — Pileser 734 B. C. (2 K. xv 29). An attempt has been made to evade its force by altering גָּדוֹן into גָּדוֹן, but this is merely an instance of inept change dictated by its author's desires. There is no possible connection between the Philistine capture of the Ark and the duration of the Danite priesthood. The disaster at Eben-ezer did not form a landmark or indeed stand in any relation at all to the fortunes of the northern sanctuary and its ministry. Thus we have no option but to keep the text and recognise that it bears the mark of a writer or editor who lived after the deportation of the Danites. It may come from the original author of the verse: or it may be due to a compiler who altered an earlier phrase — perhaps the familiar "unto this day" — to suit the circumstances of his own time.

This fits in admirably with the indications

of date given by the character of the whole section as a reply to the earlier book of Judges. We have seen that the reign of Ahaz is the latest possible date of the latter. That of his successor Hezekiah is the earliest and the only possible time for the later appendix, since he was immediately followed by a monarch who was held responsible for the destruction of the Jewish state (Jer. xv 4). In and after his days no vindication of the monarchy at the expense of an earlier epoch was possible. But it was the most natural thing in the world in the days of Hezekiah, the ideal of the prophetic party¹.

In xviii 31 we have a verse which seems to be anterior to the schism, probably to the Temple of Solomon. Micah's image was in use "all the days that the house of God was in Shiloh". Had the author lived after Dan had become a centre of Jeroboam's cult, he could hardly have failed to express himself differently. It is not obvious how the destruction of Shiloh constituted an epoch for the Danite sanctuary. We may fairly infer that we have the language of a writer who lived before Jeroboam I and probably of Solomon. The editor felt its inadequacy to the circumstances of his own age and added 30.

For the rest we have indications that the text of these chapters is in an unsatisfactory state. In xviii 16—18 the following clauses seem to be doublets that have arisen through scribal errors: —

וְשָׁשׁ	מֵאוֹת	אִישׁ	הַגּוֹרִים	כָּלִי	מִלְחָמָת	16 a ^α			
וְשָׁשׁ	מֵאוֹת	הָאִישׁ	הַחֲגוֹר	כָּלִי	מִלְחָמָת	17 b ^β			
נִצְבָּם	פָּתָח	הַשְׁעָר				16 a ^β			
נִצְבָּר	פָּתָח	הַשְׁעָר				17 b ^α			
בָּאוּ	בֵּית	מִיכָּה	וַיִּקְרֹבּוּ	אֶת	פִּסְלֵן	הָאִי	וְאֶת	הַתָּםֶן	18 a ^α
בָּאוּ	שְׁמָה	לְקַרְבָּן	אֶת	פִּסְלֵן	וְאֶת	הָאִי	וְאֶת	הַתָּמֶן	17 a ^β
וַיֹּוֹרְדוּ	שְׁמָה	לְאֶתְמָה	וַיֹּאמֶר	אֶלָּתָם	הַכֹּהֵן				18 a contd.
בָּאוּ	וְאֶת	הַמֶּן	וְאֶת	הַכֹּהֵן		17			

The problem here is purely textual, not analytical. Presumably the original text told that the six hundred stood at the gate while the five went in and took the images. This led to the priest's question. This view is confirmed by the reading of B and its allies, which in 17 stop at **הַתָּרֶן** omitting 17a^β, b, and beginning 18 with the expression "and they entered".

The confusion seems to have been caused in part by an omission from 15. In 14 the spies have put a question. According to Zdglnoptvw it was answered in 15. After this group inserts "the six hundred men of the children of Dan and they said to the men who went to spy out the land Enter, take the image and the priest", i.e. they read **וַיֹּוֹרְדוּ** שְׁמָה **לְאֶתְמָה** **וְאֶלָּתָם** **הַלְּלִים** **לְרַגֵּל** **אֶת** **הָאָרֶן**. **בָּאוּ** **קָרְבָּן** **הַפִּסְלֵן** **וְהַכֹּהֵן**.

1) We know that his reign was a period of literary activity in which the collection of old materials was not neglected (Prov. xxv 1).

The rest of 15 is under the asterisk in the LXX MS G. It is probably part of the original text, but has been shifted from its true position. The spies on entering found the priest and greeted him, but we must not be too confident in our restorations. The main point is to see how the trouble arose.

In 18 it would appear that originally they took **אֶת** **הַמֶּן** **וְאֶת** **הַמֶּן** only, and that in 20 **וְאֶת** **הַמֶּן** "and the graven image" has been added by a glossator.

On the whole I can see no sufficient reason for believing the story of xvii and xviii to be derived from two sources, though our narrative is sometimes surprisingly diffuse. It is clear (e. g. from the lacunae in xvii 2) that the text has been badly damaged, and the difficulties that arise may be due to this and to editorial action. There may have been two recensions of the same story, and a comparison of the two may have led to conflations which would give us an unduly verbose narrative. In any case no convincing analysis can be suggested, and there is nothing that indicates two substantially different conceptions of what happened. The facts lead most naturally to the view that we have here a narrative that was given literary form in the age that followed the fall of Shiloh — i. e. probably under Samuel or Saul. This was utilised by an editor of the age of Hezekiah, and it is to his efforts and to the vicissitudes of the MS tradition that we owe its present form.

On the other hand cc xix—xxi are certainly composite, but it is impossible now to resolve them into their constituent elements.

In xx 27f. we read of an occurrence at Bethel. According to M.T. "27 the children of Israel enquired of the Lord [and the ark of the covenant of God was there in those days. 28. And Phineas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron was standing before it in those days] saying". The words in brackets are omitted by the old Latin. That they are not original is proved by several considerations. In their present position they break the connection between "enquired of the Lord" and "saying". In the B text the words appear in a slightly different form ("because the ark of the covenant of the Lord God was there, and Phineas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron, stood before it in those days") immediately after 26. They conflict with all our other information as to the whereabouts of the ark, which seems to have been at Shiloh from the days of Joshua to the time of Eli: and they are easily explicable as a gloss intended to safeguard the conception of the exclusive legitimacy of the religious capital for the time being as a place of sacrifice. That idea is post-exilic.

The gloss, however, emphasises the fact that the story of the happenings at Bethel is not in harmony with post-exilic thought. The prominence of this northern city and the offerings there are in flagrant opposition to the later notion of an exclusive central sanctuary. We must therefore regard the kernel of this tradition as pre-exilic.

Even after the removal of the gloss ch. xx contains material that does not come from a single source. While no clean analysis can be effected, certain features stand out. The combination of two accounts is evident in xx 36. In 36a the children of Benjamin saw that they were worsted; yet in 36b a fresh narrative of the stratagem begins. In 35 (which belongs with 36a) 25100 Benjaminites are slain. This and the 600 of 47 make 25700. In 15 for the Hebrew 26000 A and its allies have 25000, which with the 700 men of Gibeah again makes 25700.

This calculation contrasts with the $18000 + 5000 + 2000 = 25000$ of 44f.

Unfortunately, however, when we follow out this clue we find other factors that make the task impossible. Thus if xx 1—10 be given to one source and 11—17 to a second, we are held up by the fact that 3a and 14 seem to be related. The truth is that our materials have been too much edited or damaged by other causes for a clear division to be possible. Perhaps the calculations as to the numbers are largely or wholly editorial and should not be attributed to the authors of the sources.

Turning away from such details we may recognise that there was undoubtedly an early narrative in which Bethel was prominent. Another account seems to make Mizpah the Israelite headquarters (xx 1, 3 xxi 1, 5, 8 "the camp"). It is noticeable that in xx 1, xxi 5, 8 we read "to Mizpah, to the Lord" in contrast to the phrase "before the Lord" used of Bethel (xx 23, 26f.). The statement of xx 1 of the gathering of all Israel at Mizpah appears to find a duplicate in xx 11, according to which they collected (in contrast with 8, where, in harmony with 1, they are already mobilised). M. T. brings them to an unnamed city, but AG abcx Lat. read $\delta\kappa\tau\omega\pi\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omega\eta$, and Zglnow Eth. Syro-Hex. $\delta\kappa\tau\omega\pi\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omega\alpha\omega\tau\omega\eta$ which seems more probable. With any of these readings a sequel would be found in the statement of 18 that they rose and went up to Bethel.

It may therefore be held that there was an early narrative in which Bethel was prominent. Perhaps for this reason another story was composed in which there was no worship at this northern sanctuary. Instead, Mizpah is made the headquarters, and while the lot is invoked (xx 9), and the narrative speaks of coming to the Lord at Mizpah, there are no sacrifices as at Bethel (xx 26, xxi 4).

This might be one motive for the composition of the second story. Another appears in the blackening of Jabesh Gilead in xxi. This is unhistorical. Its prominence in Saul's age shows that it had not been blotted out. An endeavour to reduce the importance of Bethel, the nearest rival of Jerusalem and the seat of the priest of II K xvii 28, and an effort to discredit the northern dynasty which had been supplanted by the house of David belong to the same circle of ideas.

There are points of contact between the Bethel story and Jgs. i f. They cannot, however, be traced out in detail, for it is impossible to say to what our present text is due. Thus the resemblance between xx 18 and i 1 f. is patent: but there is no mention of Judah. Possibly the original sequel of the verse has been cut out; on the other hand, it may be that the text of 18b once read otherwise but had become illegible in the archetype. Missing words were then conjecturally inserted from the earlier passage. Since there is nothing to show whether one of these or some other suggestion is correct, discussion must necessarily be unavailing. We can only say that there appears to have been an early account of the outrage at Gibeah and of the resulting civil war and marriage difficulty. Another story was composed in the interests of the Jerusalem Temple and the Davidic dynasty to replace it. What we have consists of fragments of these two, injured by natural causes, and altered and mutilated by compilers and editors.

Thus the appendix to Judges consists of two tales, one of which ascribes a discreditable origin to the sanctuary of Dan, while the other labours to diminish the glories of Bethel. This, too, fits the age of Hezekiah admirably. In his reign Jerusalem

occupied a unique and unchallengeable position. The end of the northern kingdom, too, called for explanation: and it was important to strengthen the hope that Judah would not share its fate. Anything that tended to lower the prestige of the north and its sanctuaries would have a value in contemporary eyes.

Further than this it is impossible to go. We cannot say either when the Mizpah narrative was composed (except that it does not antedate Jeroboam I), or whether the materials have been substantially reedited in a later age, or when these chapters were put in their present position.

§ 11. N, G, and the Editing of Samuel.

From the task of analysis we must turn to the consideration of the two great sources with which it has made us acquainted.

The positive indications of N's date are slight. The book was glossed in preexilic times, as appears from II iv 2b, 3, and this must be remembered in considering the relevant passages.

In I xxvii 6b we read "Therefore Ziklag belongeth to the kings of Judah unto this day". At first sight this seems to be later than the schism, but further enquiry does not confirm the impression. A study of the passages in which the word Judah occurs suggests that it was recognised as largely a separate entity at the end of the period of the Judges (cp. I xi 8, xvii 52, xviii 16). It was certainly so when David ruled in Hebron, and later events show that it continued in this position even after the union of the two crowns. Solomon is appointed over both (I K. i 35), not over Israel only, as we should have expected had the fusion of the two been complete; and in the concluding scenes of the Absalom trouble the fissure between the two is very apparent (II xix). Consequently the words in question could have been written as early as the reign of Solomon. It is, however, also possible (though unlikely) that they are an early addition to the text, since, as we have just seen, notes were added in preexilic times. In either case they do nothing to throw light on the date of N.

It has already been suggested that the reference to the book of the upright in II i 18b is a gloss. The compiler of that book may have taken the song from N, or may have had independent knowledge of it. If, as is generally believed, the author was David, its appearance in the book of the upright cannot have been its first publication. That, then, does not help us either.

Slightly more significant is I xxx 25: "And it came to pass from that day onwards that he made it a legal rule in Israel unto this day".

“in Israel”, not “in Judah” or “in Israel and Judah”. The verse seems to date from the united monarchy.

The quotation of II xx 1 in I K. xii 16 contributes nothing to the solution of our problem.

Really strong evidence is, however, provided by Nathan's oracle which has been discussed in § 2 above, and the whole attitude adopted towards David and Solomon respectively. To appreciate it properly such a passage as I K. xi 11—13 should be read in connection with it. That shows the complete reversal of the relative estimate of the two monarchs in the eyes of posterity. Solomon is never mentioned by name by any prophet: David, on the other hand, is the symbol of all that is best loved in their hopes for their people and its future. Nathan could give his favourite the name of Jedidiah, — beloved of the Lord: in the eyes of his great successors, for whom his reign lay in the realm of history and not of prophecy, it was the father and not the son who came near to realising the name. In the oracle and in the whole attitude of the document to the two kings its date is unmistakably revealed.

This argument is reinforced by others. At the outset (§ 2) we found that N revealed contemporary knowledge, and before our enquiry had proceeded far, we noted that it gave an unvarnished picture of David which guaranteed alike its early date and its trustworthiness (§ 3). We can feel no hesitation in assigning it to the reign of Solomon.

Its authorship is equally apparent. It bears the impress of Nathan's personality. Whether his was the hand that actually wrote its words, or whether they were framed by a son or disciple can never be quite certain: but that it gives his point of view in all essentials is too clear for argument. It regards the whole period from the settlement to David's death as a preparation for Solomon's reign. The establishment of his kingdom (I K. ii 12, 46b¹) takes up the prophecy of II vii 12 f., and this in turn looks upon the entire epoch as culminating in the reign of one who should be as a son to God, build His Temple, and through his merits found a permanent dynasty. Little did the prophet dream that his favourite, not content with building a Temple to

Israel's God, would inaugurate the practice of erecting shrines to foreign deities in the very city of His choice. It was hidden from him that Jedidiah, the beloved of the Lord, was to win a special reputation for his worship of other gods in the centre of Israel's religion.

Thus N is closely connected with the policy of Nathan the prophet. Indeed its production may be regarded as a part of the execution of that policy. He it was who first chose Solomon (II xii 24 f.). He it was who prevented the father from building the Temple, reserving that task for the son on whose reign he set his highest hopes. He it was who ensured his favourite's succession to the throne in defiance of the superior claims of his elder brother. And, as a natural result, his is the influence that may be most clearly traced in the early part of Solomon's career. Two of his sons were among the king's principal ministers (I K. iv 5), and we cannot be wrong if we attribute to his teaching the view of the duty of a king that colours the famous story of the dream (I K. iii 5 ff.). In his work for the Temple the monarch realised the prophet's hopes, though in the backslidings of his maturer years he freed himself from the idealism of his early Mentor and showed his true nature.

Nathan's individuality and policy thus constituted a dominating factor in the history of the period. They shifted the building of the Temple from the father to the son, changed the course of the succession, and exercised a far-reaching influence over the early years of the new reign¹. The composition of N appears to have been an essential part of the work. To his own and to all succeeding generations it presented the justification of Solomon's choice and Nathan's conception of the historical process.

It follows that in this document we have a first-rate, contemporary, historical source, based on personal knowledge for at least the whole period covered by the prophet's² career. For the earlier periods it is not contemporary, but it is the work of a man of outstanding ability who enjoyed excellent opportunities for learning the events of the first two reigns from eye-witnesses, including such leading actors as Joab and David himself. For the period from Saul onward he had abundant facilities for getting to know the truth.

1) This clause was added by Origen under the asterisk. As these chapters have been cut about a good deal in the process of editing, it may nevertheless be genuine, and no more suitable ending could be devised for N. In any case it only resumes ii 12.

1) It is noticeable, too, that we never read of recourse being had to the sacred lot after the great prophet's emergence, though it had been commonly used before, both by David himself and by others.

2) The historian must, however, make allowance for Nathan's bias in his use of it.

In the case of Samuel's early years the matter is different; nor can we be sure that the author of N really composed the material relating to them which has been assigned to this document. There is nothing to stamp it as coming from his hand, and the view that he here incorporated a preexisting source is not improbable.

In the book of Judges his rôle is different. In vi—xi he writes his own brilliant narrative. We cannot suppose that here he had at his command the oral testimony of contemporaries. We can only say that a writer of his ability doubtless satisfied himself that the materials on which he relied deserved the confidence he placed in them. If any other portions of the book come from his work — and he may well have incorporated the song of Deborah, just as he seems to have embodied poems of David's in II i 19 ff., iii 33 f., — he left their form unaltered.

There are no incidental references in G that give any clue to its date: but its whole tone and obvious purpose are eloquent of the debate between the South and Ephraim that arose as the result of the schism, or, perhaps it would be better to say, that the schism intensified and embittered. We shall not understand it unless we remember that the matters with which it deals remained questions of the most vital political interest during the time of the separate existence of the northern kingdom. The representation of Jeroboam as the man who made Israel to sin was naturally quite foreign to northern ways of thought. In the eyes of Ephraim the king of Israel was "the man of Thy right hand, the son of man whom Thou madest strong for Thyself" (Ps. lxxx 18), and it was not easy to invalidate the claim when the earlier history showed authoritative precedents for much of what Jeroboam had done. If the divinely instituted monarchy of Saul could properly be set aside in favour of a Davidic dynasty, why could not the latter in its turn be replaced by an Ephraimite house? If, on the other hand, all change was illegal, the Davidic kings were mere usurpers. If it was lawful for a Solomon to cashier the family of Eli which had been chosen by God in Egypt, and transfer the high priesthood to Zadok, where was the harm in Jeroboam's elevating other families to the sacred ministry? And if David served other gods and Solomon built high places to strange deities, were they not departing far more violently from Israel's true religion than the northerner with his calves and relatively minor innovations? Was it not infinitely worse to serve

Chemosh or Milcom than to erect a calf image to the God of Israel?

G represents an attempt to meet these arguments as far as possible, and to make Ephraim appear in the light of a troubler of Israel. It seems to have given an account of the victory over Sisera that ignored the share of the Rachel tribes in it entirely, and to have told how it had been guilty of jealous and unpatriotic conduct in the days of Gideon and Jephthah. Its great judge, Samuel, is degraded to a village seer with a purely local reputation, and only members of other northern tribes — Ehud of Benjamin, Barak of Naphtali, Gideon of Manasseh, Jephthah of Gilead, Samson of Dan, — possibly also a Judean, Othniel, if this narrative comes from G, — are credited with outstanding exploits. The document thus labours to create an atmosphere of prejudice against Ephraim's claim to hegemony.

When its author comes to the house of Eli he does not fail to emphasise the greatness of their sin (I ii 12, 17, 22 ff.). Ichabod's name and birth symbolise what is to come to pass in the reign of Solomon. Abiathar's loyal service of David and the firm friendship that appears to have existed between the two men are never mentioned. Zadok, it is implied, was raised to the high priesthood because the house of Eli had forfeited its claims by excessive sin and the glory had departed from it: but how could that justify the elevation of other families when no charge of wrongdoing was made against the priesthood left by Solomon?

G's most noticeable tendencies, however, come to light in its attitude towards the two great protagonists. No opportunity of decrying Saul is allowed to slip. His rescue of Jabesh is simply cut out, a story being composed in which there is no room for the campaign against Ammon. At the very beginning of his career he is made to show unfitness for the king-ly office. He acts foolishly — or so the narrator would have us think, — in disobeying Samuel, though perhaps a modern may hold a different view¹, — he is again censured for folly in prohibiting the taking of refreshment in the battle, and the writer, not satisfied with adopting the unusual course of openly blaming him himself, places further strictures in the mouth of the king's own son, Jonathan. He is accused of having violated the oath sworn by Israel to the Gibeonites (II xxi 1 ff.), of having broken his promise to David (I xviii 17—19), and of having consulted the witch of Endor (I xxviii). Most of his descendants

1) See as to this my Early Hebrew History and Other Studies, 1924, 25—27.

meet with a miserable fate to expiate his sin (II xxi 1 ff.). N's tone is entirely different and far more impartial. The facts of Saul's madness and his attitude towards David are clearly set out, but no effort is made to blame him, and his rescue of Jabesh from Ammon is treated as it deserves. It may be doubted whether he related the less creditable episodes at all: in any case his account of the battle of Michmash contains no reflection on the king, who, on the contrary, is shown as enforcing the Law in the face of the people's laxity. For him the replacement of Saul's dynasty by David's had not yet become an awkward precedent.

G does not limit himself to showing Saul's unfitness to reign. He and his heir apparent, Jonathan, are introduced as expressly recognising that the Davidic succession is legitimate (I xxiv 20, xxiii 17). In line with this only a week after he has started the insurrection against the Philistines, he is told that by the divine will another is to supplant him (I xiii 14). That is how G meets the argument that the transfer of the crown from the house of Saul could afford a justification for the schism.

But was there not much that was reprehensible and disloyal to Israel's religion in David's career? This contention, too, G seeks to answer. He tries to whitewash his hero by every means in his power. Thus David is not permitted to serve Achish, the hereditary enemy of his people, or to accept Ziklag as a gift at his hands in reward for disgraceful perfidy. Instead, currency is given to a fictitious account of a visit to the Philistine's court at which no patriot could take umbrage, and David is located at the hold of Adullam for the time he really spent in Philistia, so that he could not have served other gods. For this reason, too, he is hurried out of Moab. Nor is he allowed to begin his career in Saul's service or to owe anything to the king's favour. He appears on the scene at a moment of great danger in the approved style of a hero of romance, and Saul at the beginning of their relations breaks his solemn promise to give him his daughter Merab to wife. Her sister Michal's share in saving his life is also omitted. Even Jonathan's suggestion for sounding his father in I xx is altered so as to give the initiative to the great Judean, and to make Saul's son nothing more than his tool.

Naturally all the scandals of David's private life and court are omitted. He simply reigns in unquestioned glory except for one sin which sets in relief his loving care of his people, viz; the taking of the census which

brought to light the tenderness of his heart and his desire that his flock should not suffer for his sin.

What we have of G looks like a torso, for II viii, xxiv require an account of the construction of the Temple to round them off: but it is impossible to say with any positiveness that our account of Solomon's reign preserves any portions of it.

In Judges G appears to have collected traditions largely from the northern tribes. In the story of Jephthah the desire to obliterate the human sacrifice is obviously responsible for some of the changes made in the older view represented by N. In the case of Gideon our materials have been too much cut about for it to be possible to say what motives may have been at work apart from the desire to discredit Ephraim and exalt other northern tribes at its expense, but it is natural to suppose that its author followed the same lines here as elsewhere.

It is clear that G gathers up much popular tradition, often, perhaps, preserving only a blurred recollection of the course of events. Much of it seems to have been left largely untouched: but it is impossible now to form any trustworthy opinion on how much is due to the author of the document and how much was found by him in oral or written form. The facts at our disposal are too slight and few, and the criteria too flimsy for any investigation of these matters to possess any but a negative value.

Viewed as a whole, G is an early representative of the tendency to recast history to fit preconceived ideas that is so prominent in the Chronicler.

G's date lies somewhere between the schism and the first editor of Judges whom we have assigned to the age of Omri's family, i. e. between Rehoboam and Athaliah, but probably nearer to the former than the latter (and the editor who first joined N and G). Nothing more definite can be said.

We can now revert to a matter that was mentioned in § 1 and justify the decision to treat Jgs. ii 11—I K. ii separately.

That the editing of this division of the Bible bears no resemblance to the editing of Kings on the one hand or Joshua on the other is too obvious to need proof. But what of the main sources? Are they present in other books?

There is no trace of either N or G in I K. iii—II K. xxv, and, as N terminated with Solomon's accession and was written during his reign, it is impossible that it should ever have dealt with the later period. G may, of course,

have continued to a subsequent date, but nothing that we have can be identified as belonging to it.

The relations with what precedes call for more detailed discussion in view of the widely diffused documentary theory which strives to recognise J and E sources in the Pentateuch and Joshua, and to find continuations of them in the later books. One of the documents is supposed to be of Ephraimite origin, the other of Judean. The view must be rejected for many reasons of which it is sufficient to mention the following here:—

1. Neither N nor G can come from Northern Israel: N, it is clear, was written in the reign of Solomon; G is Judean. Each is interested in the Jerusalem Temple and in extolling a member of the Judean dynasty. Nowhere is there the slightest sign of sympathy with Ephraim or the northern kingdom.

2. The interests of both documents and the matters they discuss are quite different from those of Joshua and the Pentateuch. We breathe an atmosphere and face problems which are foreign to the outlook of the earlier books. The converse is equally true. Judges and Samuel are not concerned with the questions that confronted the authors of the Pentateuch and Joshua.

3. While both N and G are subsequent to the reign of David, the settlement narratives contain material that was written before either Jerusalem or Gezer had passed into Israelite hands. The author of such notices as Josh. xv 63, Jgs. i 21, Josh. xvi 10, Jgs. i 29, cannot be identified with a writer of the Solomonic or any later age.

4. In §§ 2—8 we found that each of our documents was characterised by little references back to what it had already narrated, e. g. the mention of Ichabod in I xiv 3, Abimelech in II xi 21, etc. There are none such to the narrative of Joshua, and where an event of that book is mentioned, the language employed (II xxi 1 f. G) shows that the story of the Gibeonites was utilised in a form which differed from what we have in Josh. ix.

With regard to the narratives of the Pentateuch, while editorial references are not infrequent, there is not a single one that can be assigned with probability to N, which, as has been remarked above, seems to have been self-contained in this matter. In the case of G the facts are different.

In Jgs. iv 11 we read of the sons of Hobab, the father in law of Moses (cf. Nu. x 29).

In vi 13 Gideon speaks of the deliverance from Egypt, but as something of which his

generation had heard from stories told them by their fathers.

In xi 15—26 there is a long argument based on the narrative of Numbers, though in a somewhat different edition from that which we have.

Lastly in I iv 8 and vi 6 we have allusions to the story of the Israelites in Egypt.

The distribution of these references may be due to chance, but it is such as to make it difficult to say whether we owe them to the author of G (assuming that all the passages are rightly assigned to him), or whether he found them in materials he used. Whichever view is correct, the first two passages prove nothing. The others show the literary use of portions of the Pentateuch, but they do not establish identity of authorship. The man who composed Jgs. xi 15—26 was undoubtedly familiar with portions of Numbers, but it is not a necessary or even a probable inference that he wrote them himself and is here quoting an earlier part of his work. Just as the settlement narratives and the song of Deborah (and apparently a history of Samuel) were in existence before N was written, so some or all of the Pentateuchal narrative as well as these works and N itself may have lain before G or any earlier writer whose work may have been incorporated in G.

5. The character of our sources militates against the theory. N is one of the most individual and distinctive of literary personalities. No writing that is found in either Joshua or the Pentateuch bears the impress of his personality. There is not a single story in them that resembles his compositions. He was not an author of the kind that can be merged in a school, and if we find nothing that is characteristic of his methods, the reason can only be that there is nothing of his there for us to find.

G has imitated N so well in parts that it would be rash to say that he could not have imitated other writers equally well, but what we know of his scope and purpose makes it unlikely that he went back before the time of the Judges. His desire to supersede N and the reasons for that desire are so clear that we cannot suppose that he jeopardised his chance of success by confusing his object with a quite different and unrelated task. Neither the Pentateuch nor Joshua is directed against the schismatic kingdom or contains any hint of the wickedness of secession. Again, while it is difficult to conceive of a J or an E without a Joseph story or an account of the leadership of all Israel by the Ephraimite Joshua after

the death of Moses, G could not have treated such themes without going far to stultify the rest of his work and defeating his principal object.

It would be easy to add other arguments drawn from versional evidence, parallel texts, linguistic and theological considerations, etc., but it hardly seems necessary. No serious case has ever been put forward in support of the contention that our books are composed from sources which are also found in the Pentateuch.

It should, however, be pointed out in passing that the relationship of N and G has a valuable lesson to teach to those who follow the so-called literary criticism. We have here two sources so closely akin in style that it would be impossible to distinguish them by the criteria on which the documentary critics are accustomed to rely, and we see that the adoption of a particular style was a matter of deliberate choice and not the inevitable expression of the author's personality. That destroys the foundations of many hypotheses that have found favour in the criticism of other books.

It remains to add a few words as to the editing of Samuel. What can be said of I i—

xii has already found a place in § 9, and in § 6 attention has been drawn to some other matters.

The most fascinating of the remaining problems concerns the editor who wrote I xv 1—xvi 13 and the allied passages. We have seen how and why G tended to disparage Saul and to support the legitimacy of the Davidic monarchy. This editor goes further in the same direction and is in turn surpassed by the Chronicler, who, with a magnificent disregard of I xxviii 6, accuses him of not having enquired of the Lord (I Ch. x 14). To what age should this editor be assigned? It is impossible to say: but as he was acquainted with the material of both N and G, and adopts a totally different attitude towards the royal office from the principal editors of Judges, he seems to be subsequent to them. If so, it is probable that his work was coloured not by the political conditions produced by the schism, but by the ideal of a Davidic Messiah. That would account for his attitude.

Lastly the great divergencies in the pre-Hexaplar text of I xvii f. seem to show that the book was once current in different recensions, but here, as in so many other matters, it is impossible to trace its history in detail.

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